NON-OTTOMANS OF HAMIDIAN ISTANBUL
Exiles and Expatriates

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Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD

2017

Languages and Cultures of the Near and Middle East

SOAS, University of London

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Abstract

The Hamidian vision of an Ottoman nation revealed itself in the liminal stage of the territorial foreigner, existing between migration and legal assimilation. The national identity synthesis inherited by the State promoted naturalization. This thesis begins with historiographical problems associated with 'foreigners' in the Ottoman context (e.g. conflation of sentimental and legal foreigners, and domestic foreignizations). The study then traces the legal evolution of an Ottoman 'individual,' challenges 'exclusivist' interpretations of the Nationality Law, and evaluates the rationalizing framework's utility for a national ideology that was expansionist by design. Istanbul is introduced as a lens through which one can observe the manners in which the polycentric State engaged with polynymity, wherein an analogy is discerned for the State's interaction with citizens, i.e. all were granted social existence, but the State asserted ultimate ownership. The in/visibility of the Great Power foreigner in the city is argued to be relational to his/her home-state marginality. In this context, following an overview of visible foreigners whose versions of the city have become fundamental components of the intertext, this thesis contributes to recent scholarship focusing on nation-negating outcasts seeking alternative belongings through the example of a Great Power female convert who migrated to Istanbul. The final core topic engages with those who have become the decisive examples in debates surrounding the subordination of the *Dar-ul-Islam* to Ottoman exclusivism. It is argued in this section that the 'foreigner' attribute that was designated to non-Ottoman Muslims did not deny eventual belonging. Preventing the proliferation of foreigners was the State's priority, but it equally sought naturalization over exclusion. This thesis concludes with the argument that the Hamidian regime created a nation but refused to seal it. The act of sealing the nation would have necessitated a transfer of sovereignty. On the other hand, so long as the nation remained unsealed, it could also grow. The Hamidian regime was expansionist and accepted members from *Dar-ul-Harb* and *Dar-ul-Islam*, both, for an Ottoman nation-under-formation.

Acknowledgements

I express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Yorgos Dedes, twice. First, I would like to thank him for his encouragement, feedback, and sense of humor over the course of the last four years: thank you for giving me the opportunity to work with you. Second, I would like to thank him for the patience and dedication with which he teaches the Ottoman language: you have given me access to a wealth of sources, knowledge, and ideas, for which I will always be grateful. Besides my supervisor, I would also like to acknowledge my committee for their contributions to the earlier stages of this project: Konrad Hirschler, for reading and commenting on my draft chapters, and for advising me to present my work, and Wen-Chin Ouyang, for suggested readings on the question of identity.

I would like to thank Maziar Behrooz, Jan Blommaert, Sotirios Dimitriadis, and Jitka Maleckova. They were not only so kind for agreeing to read a chapter each on such short notice, but were also generous with their insight and comments, which were very welcome and appreciated. I am also very grateful for Ayşe Kubilay and Stefano Taglia, who have read and provided thoughtful feedback and criticism on the whole thesis.

Searching for traces and informants of the foreigners of Istanbul's past has allowed me to meet individuals whose hospitality and conversation have become pleasant memories of the process. Among them, Çağlar Şavkay, Melih Şabanoğlu, and Turgay Tuna have been especially kind in sharing stories, histories, public and personal archival material, and photographs that have made the former *Mekteb-i Sultani* a very vivid place in my imagination. I was awakened to new considerations for interpreting the pieces I was gathering when I presented at workshops and conferences, some of which were made possible with funding from SOAS Doctoral School, Royal Historical Society, Anglo-American University, and Faculty of Arts at Charles University, Prague. Memories of the process are additionally tied to friends who shared the same journey, Yakoob Ahmed and Taylan Güngör: among other things, thank you for making me laugh.

Finally I would like to thank those without whose love and support nothing could either be, or matter. Ersed Akcasu, thank you for the safety, comfort, support, and reassurance you provided me with for me to be able to follow my passion and dreams. Jacqueline Mahan Akcasu, thank you for motivating me and showering me with endless optimism for whatever I have ever wanted to do, without hesitation, and thank you for always valuing and sharing it with me. Stefano Taglia, thank you for the encouragement, advice, and comfort you have given me from the moment I submitted my application until the moment of handing in, meanwhile you have transformed from a mystery into a vital part of my life. Thank you, especially, for nurturing an affectionate and tranquil environment over the course of the last few months, and for taking the care to make sure I had nothing to do but write and teach. Lastly, I would like to thank Ayşe Kubilay, without whom this would not have been possible. Thank you for being my biggest fan and toughest critic in one, for making my dreams your priority, for inspiring me to be strong, and for always protecting me. Thank you for all that you are and everything you have done, for every selfless sacrifice you have made—there truly are no words.

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The Fundamental Law
... Article 8. All individuals who are under the allegiance of the Ottoman state are designated as Ottomans, without exception, irrespective of whichever religion or denomination to which they belong—and the quality of being an Ottoman is acquired and relinquished according to conditions that are determined by law.[1]

Nation and Migration, the Dialogical Zone

Modernity created the individual. In the nineteenth century, nationalist sentiment was one channel the individual found expression in. The appeal was (the semblance of) active participation in determining one's (temporal) fate by proxy of states governed by representational selves. Upon the emergence of politically consequential individuals, states that had consolidated "hegemony protected by the armour of coercion"[2] in premodernity resolved to weave individuals' interests to the State's welfare to maintain the former's loyalty; nationalism was tailored to preserve practical and ideological supremacy. The Ottoman state, too, was actively involved in nation-formation over the course of its last century. The House of Osman confronted the urgency to maintain its status in the individualizing eyes of the multi-ethnic, multi-religious, and polyglot constituency it had claimed authority over before the advent of the individual. One way the polycentric State met the challenge was by formulating an official nationalism. It subsequently proposed a nation. The following chapters consider how the late-Ottoman state participated in the construction of national identity through evaluating its reception of foreigners who actively and passively contributed to the making of 'an Ottoman.' These dynamics are observed in relation to how the status of foreigners was dictated from Istanbul over the course of the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II (1876–1909); i.e. prior to the collapse of sultanic authority. The foreigner-prism reveals nuances that are blurred in self-referential analyses of Ottoman nation formation, especially regarding degrees of 'exclusivism' and 'fusion of faith and state.' Summarily, switching the focus from negotiations with and amongst the natural-born constituency to an outward-looking one, in dialogue with alternative contrasted others, reveals that the Hamidian regime propagated expansionist nationalism and molded an unsealed nation.

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[1] "Kanun-i Esasi" [of 1876], *Salname-i Devlet-i Aliye-yi Osmaniye: Kırk Yedinci Sene* (Dersaadet: Matbaa-ı Amire, 1309 [1891/92]), 100.
[2] Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from Prison Notebooks.* Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith eds., (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971), 263.

Ottomanism and its Nation

The Ottoman state undertook the project of nation formation some half a millennium after its establishment. Efforts to reconstruct the existing polity's identity in national terms over the course of the State's final century were driven by the will and necessity to adapt to the conditions of modernity. Inter- and intra-state dynamics dictated a structural 'reorganization' and the redefining of the State's relationship with theretofore communalized subjects. Survival, intact, necessitated 'reformulating' the link between "fraternity, power and time."[3] Modernity demanded temporal power to be shared in a desacralized time amongst a fraternity that would become a collectivity of individuals, e.g. a nation. Beyond accommodating communal subjects as individual members of a newly forging collective, this additionally entailed the State attaining (at least the pretension of) consent to maintain hegemony. To fulfill this aim, the Ottoman State, too, formulated a customized legitimacy structure to fill the 'void' created by the deterioration of the 'old belief-system' that had previously perpetuated its power—the former 'link' reinforced its claim to authority. The State thus addressed the new circumstances by launching the venture of official nationalism. The ideology was engineered in a manner that would reinforce authority whilst addressing the individualizing collective, without whose loyalty power would be redundant. To this end, the ideology of Ottomanism was developed. It served the means of 'mobilizing bias'[4] to favor the State maintaining the ability to exercise power over its old constituency within the new liberalizing and rationalizing framework that had submerged the transnational field.

Ottomanism and the making of its Ottoman nation were proactive enterprises. Insider and outsider recollections have, until recently, more frequently evaluated the *efforts* (neither nation nor nationalism were admitted an Ottoman existence, *per se*) as defensive and reactive imitations, and, ultimately, unpromising ventures. This trend was

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[3] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and the Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso), 36.

[4] Peter Bachrach and Morton S. Baratz initiated the conversation on the 'mobilization of bias' as a component of the phenomenon of non-decision-making in the context of a two-dimensional power paradigm; see Peter Bachrach and Morton S. Baratz, "Decisions and Non-Decisions: An Analytical Framework," *American Political Science Review* 57 (September 1963): 632 – 642. While the 'mobilization of bias' itself has attained an independent conceptual existence, the number of dimensions of power within which it operates has been a source of contention; see, for example, Steven Lukes, *Power: A Radical View* (London: Macmillan, 1974). Here, it is assumed to operate within a multiple-dimensional framework.

most pronounced in histories subscribing to Westernization and Decline Paradigms, which

> ... served the purposes of, or perhaps was propelled by, a Western hegemonic agenda. This view fitted neatly into Enlightenment progress discourse, coalesced in Orientalist scholarship, and acquired further academic rigour in formulations such as the Marxian 'Asiatic mode of production' and 'Oriental despotism', and Weberian-inspired modernizationist and developmentist theories.[5]

The unfeasibility of an Ottoman nation was not only a retrospective historiographical projection, it also failed to persuade contemporaries. Ottoman nation-creation coincided with the age in which scholars such as Ernest Renan, with a new "scientific attitude,"[6] contributed to the 'Orient' taking "on a discursive identity that made it unequal with the West."[7] The essentialized qualities of societies excluded from the freshly concocted Greco-Roman civilizational trajectory were not given the benefit of either the nature or capacity to be able to achieve legitimate nationhood. Renan's "opinions were widely shared across Europe and beyond, helping to foster a derogatory attitude toward Islam and a sense of Western superiority which in turn legitimized European colonialism."[8] His opinion about the (racialized and "defective"[9]) 'Turkish' nation was, simply, that it was not one.

Half a century after the Ottoman state declared all subjects born into the allegiance of the House of Osman to be 'Ottomans,' Renan resolved to explain why a cohesive nation could not be produced. He claimed the Ottomans were not progressing "towards a fully national existence … [like France, Germany, England, Italy, and Spain, which had achieved] the fusion of the populations of which they are composed."[10] He located the specific obstacles for the 'Turkish' nation in the ruling class not having ever adopted the religion of those they conquered nor having forgotten their language.[11] This, he regarded as critical, since, "forgetting, and … historical error are an essential factor in the creation of a nation."[12] Though the Ottomans did both forget and commit historical errors in the process of forging a nation, one concedes that their aim was never to create

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[5] Dana Sajdi ed., *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007), 4.
[6] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 1995), 138.
[7] Ibid., 156
[8] Zachary Lockman, *Contending Visions of the Middle East: the History and Politics of Orientalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004), 81.
[9] Ibid., 80.
[10] Ernest Renan, "What is a Nation?" in Stuart Woolf ed., *Nationalism in Europe, 1815 to the Present: a Reader* (London: Routledge, 1999), 49.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid., 50.

a nation according to the path imagined by Renan. Since Ottomanism was a civic rather than ethnic nationalism, a 'fusion' of indigenous cultures had not been the State's dominant ambition. Instead, it sought political assimilation—a process that operated alongside and reinforced the 'cultural fusion' that was propagated (rather than occurring naturally) in the societies that Renan observes to have successfully manufactured nations. Neither could the Ottoman state have conceived of adopting the conquered religion. Its historical legitimacy was secured through upholding its Islamic associations; "[t]raditional Ottoman polity was fashioned essentially by a patrimonial authority called the Sultanate, Islamized by recognizing the *Sharî'a* … and by assuming the charismatic title of the Caliphate, which was believed to be a succession to the Prophet's headship of the community of Islam."[13] The House of Osman did not envisage relinquishing these claims. This did not eliminate the possibility of creating a nation—also in the Hamidian era that has been denied the quest.

The Hamidian regime successfully negotiated tradition and modernity with collective identity formation. What made the perpetually forming nation ultimately unattainable during the Hamidian era was the uncompromising absolutist framework—i.e. Sultan Abdülhamid II created a nation but refused to seal it by conceding sovereignty to it. Because Ottomanism and the Ottoman nation have been evaluated as defensive projects that aimed to convince the domestic constituency of unity in the age of irredentist nationalism, there is still no consensus on the historical success of either. Regardless of the level of agency the Ottoman state 'in decline' has finally been granted in the historiography, Ottomanism continues to be dismissed as a proto-nationalism and is given even less credence as an official state venture in the Hamidian era.

Nationalism in the nineteenth century has been viewed as an integral component of 'reform' and 'modernization'—the refined and less value-laden vestiges of 'progress' and 'westernization' that dominated "in the Euro-centric determinism of the post-WWII Modernity meta-narrative."[14] Despite the fact that nationalism has been discredited as one of the manifestations of progress, it remains intricately tied to a more neutral (and critique-able) modernity. One can therefore observe the success of Ottomanism echoed in evaluations of the State's ability to dictate the terms of its reform process. Edhem Eldem, for example, touches upon both Ottoman agency and nationalism. Regarding the

[13] Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 9.
[14] Isa Blumi, *Foundations of Modernity: Human Agency and the Imperial State* (London: Routledge, 2012), 27.

former, he argues that the State's transformation is traceable to a process that was not "a *deus ex machine* type of western intervention …[but] had been initiated in the sixteenth century, and involved essentially a rationalization of bureaucratic structures aiming at the optimization of central control over the territories and resources of the empire."[15] The process is not concluded to be linear, however, as he is skeptical of such active initiative in the Hamidian era, claiming that by "the second half of the nineteenth century … what had started as a rather active process of change gradually turned into passive compliance and allegiance to external criteria and dynamics."[16] Eldem discusses Ottomanism and an Ottoman nation in the same vein: "Ottoman identity supported by an imperialist nationalist ideology—Ottomanism—were doomed to failure as both the dominant nationalist tendencies of the century and the imperialist policies of the great powers systematically undermined such a unifying project."[17] The 'failure' is assumed to be a matter of fact by advent of the reign of Abdülhamid II; it is suggested that pan-Islamism and pan-Turkism were the ideologies fomented in the Hamidian and Young Turk eras, respectively.

The argument that some sort of pan-/Islamism supplanted Ottomanism by the final quarter of the nineteenth century is, in fact, not a deviation from the 'Euro-centric metanarrative.' While consistent with the recent "trend [...] to call later manifestations of Ottoman loyalty *de facto* Islamism,"[18] the analysis remains preliminary to the (more) recent historiographical trend that considers 'Islamism' to have transcended the Hamidian into the Young Turk era, existing alongside the latter's tendencies of Turkism. In other words, Young Turks sought to preserve Muslim hegemony. While the forces Edhem mentions certainly *did* 'undermine' the Ottoman national project, Ottomanism can be argued to have persisted in spite of them—even in the Hamidian era. Hamidian pan-/Islamism devoid of an over-arching Ottomanism is not persuasive when considerations of the process by which the State attempted to build its nation stretch beyond domestic resistance to its nationalist pitch. The latter approach has upheld the communalization of the constituency according to traditional categorizations (in a state of constant *re*active dialogue with international pressure). The domestic self-

[15] Edhem Eldem, "Istanbul: from imperial to peripheral capital," in Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman and Bruce Masters eds., *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999), 197.
[16] Ibid., 199.
[17] Ibid., 200.
[18] Blumi, *Foundations of Modernity*, 28

referential analysis of the successes and failures of Ottomanism is necessary. For an age whose primary feature is the advent of the politically consequential individual, however, the conversation must *also* engage with national identity on an individual basis—especially with regards to who was and was not considered a member of the Ottoman polity, by the Hamidian regime.

In shifting the reference point from indigenous collective identity formations to modes of access to membership, the perspective of the changeable status of individuals in the eyes of the State serves to nuance conceptual Ottoman nationhood. It does so without displacing conclusions drawn about the nature of the State and the manner in which it faced the challenges of modernity, e.g. that Ottomanism, as "a form of identity politics...emerged as a tool of state expansion rather than a result of Westernization [but] did not take hold as a doctrine within crucial local factors."[19] That Ottoman nationalism was more ambitious than attaining local adherents is blurred when in self-referential analyses. This is exacerbated when the local has often been assumed to have been compartmentalized according to clear-cut ethno-religious designations—a feature projected onto the self-attestations of the domestic constituency as well as the State's gaze. Where traditional collective identity categorizations are employed, the project of what becomes rendered a pseudo-nation is presented in religious terminology.

It is evident that the Ottoman state, and the Hamidian regime in particular, could not have been committed to a multi-religious and multi-ethnic civic nationalism if it was exclusivist and privileged a certain group within the constituency based on either of these factors. What emerges in the conversation about migration and nation-formation is the question of whether the Hamidian state's attempts to control demographics through what appears to be the promotion a certain 'type' migrant (one that reinforced the sovereign's claim to authority and power) occurring in simultaneity with abiding by the regulations of granting citizenship to all those that had met legally articulated criteria, regardless of ethno-religious persuasion (i.e. not actively excluding any individual from possible membership), has the potential to adjudicate the regime's commitment to Ottomanism and the civic nation obsolete. This is precisely the debate that is lost when the nation-building project is conveyed as a domestic intra-national struggle between Muslims and 'minorities'—who have more recently been termed 'dominant' and 'non-

[19] Blumi, *Foundations of Modernity*, 28.

dominant' members of the constituency.[20] Within the parameters of the latter enquiry, the general consensus is that the State was not fully invested in a nation of ethno-religiously neutral Ottomans. The articulated rhetoric is taken as a token gesture to appease the non-core constituency component of the masses and the Great Powers whose intrusion into the Ottoman field often occurred on the pretext of their defense. As such, so far as the Hamidian era is concerned, the dominant-non-dominant dynamic has overwhelmingly geared deliberations concerning the nature of the State to the protected place of Islam in governance, on Islam being privileged in collective identity formation, and the conflicts arising with those who Islam's dominance could oppress. It will hereinafter be argued that official Hamidian negotiations of the Ottoman self contrasted with *external* others (e.g. foreigners) can be used as a means to test the universality of what has hitherto been established about the State's self-referential constructions of its self in relation to itself.

The Hamidian vision of the State and national identity has been argued to be exclusivist in favor of Sunni (-Hanefi) Ottomans.[21] The State's negotiation of its identity against how it conceptualized foreigners does not conform to this conclusion that has come to be taken for granted. The argument is discernible in scholarship that consciously broke away from the literature that considered the Hamidian regime in reductive terms and has challenged the veracity of the representation-of-the-representation-of the sovereign that was "painted by a bad orientalist painter."[22] The point of departure for revisionist histories generally accept that "[o]nly after the Ottoman Empire had shown unmistakable signs of dissolution was Abdül-Hamid singled out as the man responsible for its collapse."[23] Thereafter, a coalition of "different men representing irreconcilable interests ... spoke out in the name of liberty and portrayed Abdül-Hamid as a tyrant."[24] Because a pervasive essentialist current in the nation-building era questioned the compatibility between Islam and progress from the nineteenth-century through the middle of the twentieth, the idea of Hamidian progress was easily dismissible on account of religious conservatism.

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[20] See, for example, Bedross der Matossian, *Shattered Dreams of Revolution: From Liberty to Violence in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Stanford, California: Stanford UP, 2014).
[21] See, for example, Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876 – 1909* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1998).
[22] François Georgeon, *Abdülhamid II: Sultan Calife* (Paris: Fayard, 2003), 14.
[23] Berkes, *Development of Secularism*, 253.
[24] Ibid.

Hamidian historiography has only recently departed from deterministic narratives to undergo reparative theoretical and practical revision. Arguments like those of Bernard Lewis, that "the advance of Christendom and the decline of Islam created a new relationship, Islam was crystalized—not to say ossified—and had become impervious to external stimuli, especially from the millennial enemy in the West"[25] would, soon after, be the topic of acrimonious contestation by scholars like Edward Said. In short, it took the rejection of objective reality (e.g. Hobsbawm on tradition, Anderson on imagined communities) and the advent of post-colonial and cultural studies to push academics to self-criticize in the face of many publicized charges (e.g. Hodgson of Eurocentrism, Said of Orientalism). In reconsidering the Hamidian regime, this resulted in evaluations that have come to focus on the ability of non-insular Islamic states and societies to be agents of their own change.[26]

Outgrowing the decline paradigm, Eurocentrism, and essentialism has necessitated a reevaluation of the nature of the late-Ottoman state. The result has often been an evaluation of "The Politicization of Islam,"[27] to borrow the title of Kemal H. Karpat's influential work. New approaches to Ottoman history designated Islam as compatible with modernity by proving the manner in which it accommodated and was even used as tool to shape the proto-/nation. Karpat, for example, has argued that the Hamidian regime's 'pan-Islamism' instilled a sense of nationalism in his subjects.[28] The political identity of this nation was thus intimately linked to Islam; i.e. "[a]lthough Sultan Abdulhamid opposed the idea of a nation defined by attachment to a territorial

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[25] Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*. 2nd Ed. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1968), 41.

[26] For primary-source examples of late-Ottoman deliberations on Islam and the demands of modern civilization see, "The Young Ottoman: Namık Kemal's 'Progress,'" in Michael Amin, Benjamin C. Fortna, and Elizabeth B. Frierson eds., *The Modern Middle East: A Sourcebook for History* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2007): 406—411, Fatma Aliye, *İstila-yı İslam* (Kostantiniye: Tahir Bey Matbaası 1318 [1900/01]), Halil Hamid, *Müsavat-ı Tamme* (Istanbul: Leon Lütfi, 1328 [1912/13]), Prens Sabahaddin, *Türkiye Nasıl Kurtarılabilir?* (Istanbul: Kader Matbaası, 1334 [1915/16]). For secondary sources, see, among others, Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought: a Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1962), Nazan Çiçek, *The Young Ottomans: Turkish Critics of the Eastern Question in the Late Nineteenth Century* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010), Itzchak Weismann and Fruma Zachs eds., *Ottoman Reform and Muslim Regeneration: Studies in Honour of Butrus Abu-Manneh* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005), Şükrü Hanioğlu, *The Young Turks in Opposition* (New York: Oxford UP, 1995), Stefano Taglia, *Intellectuals and Reform in the Ottoman Empire: The Young Turks on the Challenges of Modernity* (London: Routledge, 2015), and Özdalga ed., *Late Ottoman Society*.

[27] Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam*.

[28] Kemal H. Karpat, "The Transformation of the Ottoman State, 1789–1908," *IJMES* 3, no. 3 (July 1972), 243.

fatherland and/or ethnicity or language, his Islamism, when grafted onto Ottomanism, yielded a sense of nationhood that was anchored both in Islam and in various historical, regional, and ethnic particularities."[29] The basis of Selim Deringil's argument that the Hamidian state was exclusivist rests upon a similar foundation. He finds the era to be,

> ... both formative and disruptive … disruptive of much of the traditional fabric of society, as the State now came to demand not passive obedience but conformity to a unilaterally proclaimed normative order. In fact the Ottoman Empire hedged towards a 'nationally imagined community,' as Ottoman identity assumed an increasingly Turkish character, even if its identity was packaged in universalist Islamic terms.[30]

Deringil's work argues for the pragmatic utility of Islam for the Hamidian state. He proceeds to demonstrate how the policy was geared to Ottomanize Hanefi Islam, and homogenize the Muslim constituency accordingly. In fact, the re-introduction of Islam into the discourse of progress has resulted in the faith being reshaped in a manner that has frequently stripped it of its religiosity in being granted political agency. They were not mutually exclusive, however. As Benjamin C. Fortna has argued, "Islam cannot be reduced to the role of merely playing a part in an inherently secular agenda."[31] This is inevitable, however, so long as the assumption that those who wielded authority were "willing to use the faith"[32] to save the State persists.

The revision of the Hamidian era has presented some theoretical challenges. It has, at times, substituted new concepts to take for granted (more aligned with contemporary intellectual currents) in the place of old ones (that suited now outdated nation-state constructions). Namely, more recent histories of the late-Ottoman state have attempted to evaluate the polity as yet 'another' rational and modernizing one that can be measured by the same units and treated with the same rhetoric, all the while continuing to approach it as a novelty. The point of departure is that the "Ottoman state, almost alone in the Muslim world, possessed sovereignty and an independent Muslim ruler, the sultan-caliph, who had a sophisticated political organization at his disposal and could claim legitimately to be the defender of Islam."[33] This is not disparate from other opening vignettes that consider the Ottoman state to be "unique in many ways. It was the only Muslim great power. It was the only European Muslim power. It had

[29] Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam*, 323.
[30] Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains*, 11.
[31] Benjamin C. Fortna, "Islamic Morality in Late 'Secular' Schools," *IJMES* 32, no. 3 (August 2000), 370.
[32] Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam*, 8.
[33] Ibid.

emerged as the single most serious threat to European Christendom during the period when Europe was expanding as a result of the voyages of discovery and colonization in the late fifteenth and sixteenth century."[34] Echoing more recent contemporary days, in the search for parity, difference is maintained against those among whom a place of belonging is attempted be achieved. For the Hamidian era, this rests upon the notion that the regime's 'politicization of Islam,'

> ... paradoxically, brought to an end the de facto separation of faith and state that prevailed in the government practices of the classical Ottoman era—the supposed din-u-devlet (fusion of state and faith), notwithstanding. Instead, modernization eventually provided the State with a new argument for abolishing the faith's relatively autonomous sphere and monopolizing all sectors of power, even, when necessary, using the faith for its own benefit in the name of "secularism."[35]

While the above assertion that the 'politicization of Islam' merged religion and state will be disputed in what follows, the forthcoming chapters nevertheless accept Islam as a crucial point of reference in late-Ottoman reform and modernization—not the least because, as it has been established in the historiography, it provided a source of legitimacy for the House of Osman. Neither is the validity of the internal conflicts that occurred in the self-referential field of Ottoman nation formation disputed.

The consideration proposed in this thesis is how the Hamidian state constructed its identity in reference to external outsiders—i.e. those who were unambiguously foreign. It will be argued that the foreigner prism reveals equally important features of the Hamidian nation-under-construction as self-referential analyses. Most notably, what germinates from this inquiry is the possibility that the Hamidian regime did not, in fact, fuse faith with state. Instead, what emerges from the dynamics of its engagement with natural-born Ottomans and foreigners is that the Hamidian regime, in fact, formalized the division between faith and state and bifurcated official nationalism into two complementary, yet *distinct*, spheres: the secular-territorial and extraterritorial-divine. This division is unobservable in examinations of late-Ottoman national identity from a self-referential perspective. The two distinct discourses merged when they addressed the Muslim constituency, who was within the sultan's jurisdiction in each realm, thus creating the impression of exclusivism. Before analyzing the Hamidian project of nation formation further, it is first necessary to establish the historiographical problems associated with the 'foreigner' in the late-Ottoman context.

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[34] Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains*, 1.
[35] Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam*, 8.

The Ottoman 'Violation of the Nationalist Principle'

Modernity placed a call for 'imagined communities' to recast old elements into new entities held up by a superficially disparate socio-political ideology. Numerous participants responded to the challenge. In the Ottoman dominions, natural-born agents and opponents of the State, comprehensive of intellectuals with a social function,[36] sought to actively mold the nascent community in their un-/official capacities according to their respective convictions of how the State could best be saved. While their efforts have been duly documented, the active and passive participation of the 'foreigner' as migrant and potential citizen has, for the most part,[37] been left out of debates concerning the construction late-Ottoman identity and national image. This is notwithstanding the fact that the text and praxis governing migration into the 'well-protected domains,' especially over the duration of the Hamidian years, has the capacity reveal the State's vision for its nation at a critical juncture and to simultaneously challenge some basic assumptions about the nature of the State.

The place allotted to foreigners within nations-under-construction is critical because foreigners are the most obvious other. And regardless of how nation/-ality has been imagined, it has always been presented as the natural inclination to forge a union with (representational) selves over contrasted (and, often deliberately constructed) others. The rhetoric of philosophical reflections and ideological formulations of nations and nationalism have always been couched within the confines of this terminology. According to John Stuart Mill, for example, "[a] portion of mankind may be said to constitute a Nationality if they are united among themselves by common sympathies which do not exist between them and any others."[38] The primary nexus is therefore a dialogical one between the familiar self and the unfamiliar other. Though many earlier intellectualizations of nation were ethno-religiously non-essentialist, thus in accordance with the sole suitable derivation of official nationalism for the Ottoman state, the Ottomans were nevertheless not widely accepted as constituting a nation—e.g. not by

[36] This subscribes to Antonio Gramsci's deduction that "[a]ll men are intellectuals...but not all men have in society the function of intellectuals," see Gramsci, *Selections from Prison Notebooks*, 9. Gramsci further categorizes those among them with a social function into "traditional" and "organic" intellectuals. For their nature, function, and histories of development, see Gramsci, 3–23.

[37] A valuable exception to this general neglect is Ulrike Freitag, Malte Fuhrmann, Nora Lafi and Florian Riedler eds., *The City in the Ottoman Empire: Migration and the Making of Urban Modernity* (London: Routledge, 2011).

[38] John Stuart Mill, "Nationality" [1862], in *Nationalism in Europe, 1815 to the Present: a Reader* (London: Routledge, 1999), 40.

contemporary Great Power outsiders and irredentist insiders, nor by retrospective nationalist narratives of post-Ottoman states. One of the primary reasons for this has been the multiple, and often contradictory, forms the foreigner—i.e. the 'other'—has taken in the quest to determine who an Ottoman was.

Foreigners have seldom been considered in relation the construction of the Ottoman national image, perhaps most importantly, because the Ottomans were the ones to often be ascribed that identity. As such, their state could not become the legitimate "political shell"[39] of a nation in the modern era. If a state is classified as foreign in relation to those over whom it exercises hegemony, the equation results in a "violation of the nationalist principle."[40] Modernity yielded a slew of national states with internally and externally validated claims to their existence. Those among them who considered the Ottomans as being "radically alien to Western civilization" [41] denied Ottomans nationhood. In the final year of the Great War, a pamphlet describing the future of the polity definitively declared that,

> … [t]he Ottoman Empire is not a national State. It has not grown by willing cooperation between neighbours, but by the domination of a military power over what might have been nations, or parts of nations, if Ottoman militarism had not cut them short…The breaking up of Turkey is not the destruction of a living commonwealth, but the liberation of enslaved peoples from prison, a clearing of the ground for the commonwealths which these peoples are at last to build.[42]

The above description could faithfully describe a number of polities within and beyond the mythological confines of 'Western Civilization'—with a temporal range that transcends and is inclusive of both the establishments of Ancient Rome and the United States of America. Those among them who were claimed as contributors to the heritage of 'Western civilization' were exceptionalized, by their being redeemed by an idea.[43] The remainder were disadvantaged by the same civilizational discourse. The conviction that Ottomans were 'radically alien' was a necessary one. It provided the sustenance 'Western Civilization' needed, to maintain its self-ascribed identity by proxy of the other that was its most familiar unfamiliar. The narrative had no room for an Ottoman

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[39] Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*. 2nd Edition. (Massachusetts: Blackwell, 2006),136.
[40] Ibid., 1.
[41] *The Ottoman Domination* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd., 1917), 3.
[42] Ibid., 4.
[43] Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*, Goonetillekee ed., 2nd ed. (Ontario: Broadview Literary Texts, 1999), 72. The 'idea' had several manifestations and appellations, among the latter can be included 'the Civilizing Mission' and 'the White Man's Burden.' The 'White Man's Burden' was coined by Rudyard Kippling in his 1889 poem by the same title about the United State's potential to civilize the "half-devil and half-child" indigenous population of the Philippines through colonizing the island.

nation, not the least because an Ottoman nation would have entailed the political allegiance and natural national belonging of the heirs of Greco-Byzantine and Christian culture, which 'Western Civilization' had traced its own heritage to, to what was neatly ascribed the identity of foreign subjugator.

The House of Osman was not the only designated-foreigner in historical deliberations about the nature of the Ottoman state. Since foreignness is relational, members of its constituency were, by extension and default, also foreignized due to their purported antipodality to the State that demanded their default allegiance. The foreignization of indigenous members of the Ottoman state in outsider (-insider) recollections have, until recently, produced interpretations that have equated the Ottoman historical existence with a yoke that suffocated the self-determination of various 'national' groups. One cannot dispute this notion purely on the grounds that nations are constructed. The present intellectual landscape concedes that Man can indeed exist without his Shadow[44] and "nations, like states, are a contingency, and not a universal necessity."[45] Yet, neither now nor in the Ottoman age of nation formation could the intrinsic value, fundamental necessity, or subjective reality of one Man's Shadow be disputed or objectively denied by another, especially by one that was considered an other. The latter could only resolve to persuade the Man that he had mistaken his Shadow. It follows, therefore, that the Ottoman state was obliged to negotiate the features of its identity in relation to domestic communities whose members were either suspected of being united by, or evaluated as being susceptible to, independent national aspirations. In other words, for the sake of self-preservation and protecting Ottoman territorial integrity, those who sought to uphold their hegemony had to reformulate the nature of the State from the perspective of those who it exercised power over but had begun to consider it a violation of the aforementioned national principle: rule by a foreigner. By rational and ideological means, the State tried to convince the constituency that they were the same and thus shared the same, Ottoman, Shadow. The Ottoman effort to convince its domestic constituency that it was not violating a fundamental nationalist principle necessitated that it gear its efforts to stave off indigenous foreignizations.

[44] This is a reference to Gellner's consideration of Adelbert con Chamisso's protagonist who sold his shadow in the 1814 *Peter Schlemihls wundersame Geschichte* as the literary representation of a man without a nation, see Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 6.
[45] Ibid.

The Sense of Foreignness versus the Condition of Being a Foreigner

The study of foreigners and migration in the modern framework of rational national identity formation, as agents and phenomenon that grant access to the complexity of governance and official ideology, cannot be expected to bear meaningful fruit if those who wield authority and yield the power to formalize the rules are viewed in reductive terms. To first and foremost identify the nature of Ottoman rule as nothing more than six hundred years of occupation—and the House of Osman and its state apparatus as the perpetual suppressor of various national awakenings—blurs domestic and foreign. According to this interpretation, and in view of an attributed or veritable discord between one's political and sentimental belonging each set of actors, depending on perspective, can attest or be imposed an identity easily characterized as embodying foreignness, e.g. the Ottomans ruling class, the peoples bound to their political authority, and those beyond the jurisdiction of the Ottoman state's laws.

There is a profound distinction that needs to be addressed between the sentiment of feeling foreign to (or in) one's own state, and the state of being a foreigner in the setting of an alien state. The difference in the modern era is encapsulated in a necessary act. To achieve harmony in legal and sentimental existence, one who feels foreign to the state that has *de facto* claimed his/her natural-born allegiance is obliged to "relinquish… [it] according to conditions that are determined by the law."[46] Much of the historiography in the field of proto-/national identity formation in the late-Ottoman context has focused on the practical outcomes of the former, sentimental, condition (e.g. best encapsulated by irredentism in the nineteenth century), which, at times, materialized in the attainment of the aforementioned harmony in the actualization of alternative states. By contrast, those whose natural-born status fell into the latter category of legal foreigners have been relatively overlooked.[47] Historiographically visible (legal) foreigners within the late-

[46] "Kanun-i Esasi" [Art. 8], *Salname-i Devlet-i Aliye-yi Osmaniye: Kırk Yedinci Sene*, 100.

[47] Some historiographical exceptions that treat resident-foreigners in greater debt in the late-nineteenth century Ottoman context are Mansour Bonakdarian, "Iranian Constitutional Exiles and British Foreign Policy Dissenters, 1908-9," *IJMES* 29, no.2 (May 1995): 175-191, A. H. De Groot, "The Dutch Nation in Istanbul, 1600-1985: A Contribution to the Social History of Beyoğlu," *Anatolica* 14 (1987): 131-150, Eldem, Goffman and Masters eds., *The Ottoman City Between East and West*, Selçuk Esenbel, "A 'Fin de Sieclè' Japanese Romantic in Istanbul: The Life of Yamada Torajirō and His 'Toruko Gakan'," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 56, no.2 (1996): 237-252, Malte Fuhrmann, "'Western Perversions' at the Gate of Felicity: The European Prostitutes of Galata-Pera (1870-1915)," *History and Anthropology* 21, no.2 (2010): 159-172 and "Down and Out on the Quays of İzmir: 'European' Musicians, Inkeepers, and Prostitutes in the Ottoman port Cities," *Mediterranean*

Ottoman state are recalled to be, for the most part, Great Power nationals who reinforced the dilemma of the sentimental foreigners' lack of belonging. What is foreign has therefore been limited to assumptions arising from self-referential assessments that presume the existence of clear binaries within Ottoman society, inadvertently feeding into discredited narratives that emphasize a select set of sentimental foreigners' closer association with alternative externalities. An equally limited set of 'foreigners' allows for the mutual reinforcement of both identities, set in struggle with a condensed 'other.' The resultant dialectic, which resembles a cultural diaspora amongst the makers and inheritors Western civilization, echoes how post-colonial cultural identities have been formulated elsewhere.[48] In the imagination of both the engineers of Great Power metanarrative and *particular* sentimental foreigners, the latter were suspended between a single, joint, cultural heritage that was interrupted and awaiting release for, finally, 'becoming.'

The historiographical neglect of legal 'foreigners' as contributors to the formation of the Ottoman nation, as identities the State collided with and individuals it propagated belonging to, is partially due to the overwhelming focus dedicated to natural-born contenders for the same, 'foreigner,' title. Summarily, the ethno-religious nature of irredentist nationalisms that gained momentum in the nineteenth century rendered some indigenous communities as the most consequential foreigners in conversations to be had about Ottoman nationality. The frequency with which one encounters the compound descriptive 'minorities and foreigners' in discussions about late-Ottoman society aptly demonstrates that these two groups were attributed an identity (often by themselves as much as by outsiders) that had the power to convince and maintain the assumption that each were more similar to each other than either was to the Ottoman—neither *really* belonged where there were found. This assumed, perhaps counter-intuitively, a very

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Historical Review 24, no.2 (2009): 169-185, Karen Kern, "Rethinking Ottoman Frontier Policies: Marriage and Citizenship in the Province of Iraq," *The Arab Studies Journal* 15, no.1 (Spring 2007): 8-29 and *Imperial Citizen*, Bruce Masters, "The Treaties of Erzurum (1823 and 1848) and the Changing Status of Iranians in the Ottoman Empire," *Iranian Studies* 24, no. ¼ (1991): 3-15, James H. Meyer, "ImMigration, Return, and the Politics of Citizenship: Russian Muslims in the Ottoman Empire, 1860-1914," *IJMES* 39, no.1 (Feb., 2007): 15-32 and *Turks Across Empires: Marketing Muslim Identity in the Russian-Ottoman Borderlands* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2014), Steven Rosenthal, "Foreigners and Municipal Reform in Istanbul: 1855-1865," *IJMES* 11, no. 2 (1980): 227-245, Thierry Zarcone and Fariba Zarinebaf eds. *Les Iraniens d'Istanbul* (Paris: Insititut Français de Recherches en Iran et Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes, 1993).

[48] See, for example, Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," in Jonathan Rutherford ed., *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1990).

narrow identity for both 'minority' and 'foreigner.' The scholarship has come a long way since Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis jumpstarted a conversation in 1978 that materialized as the collection of essays in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: the Functioning of a Plural Society*. More crassly, until Ottoman society was given the benefit of a more complex nature over the last few decades and until contemporary millennial scholarship considered the intentions and, more importantly, participation of diverse actors for/in a plural society as being genuine.[49]

The 'minorities and foreigners' designation has historically taken for granted the notion of a neatly compartmentalized society by overwhelmingly anticipating a Christian identity for 'minorities' and a Great Power one for 'foreigners.' One can see this blatantly articulated, without qualifications, even in the Great Power press. In covering the restoration of the constitution in 1908, for example, the *London Daily News* wrote a few words on Ottoman demography. It spoke of a "large Christian population whose pride it is to consider itself European"[50]—though not all Europeans considered the 'Christian population' their fully-fledged equals. There were exceptions to the trend of a predominantly Christian foreignization, to be sure. Muslim Ottoman Arabs, for example, gradually became self-/attested foreigners as well. If one were to observe historical productions of the era under study, the ideological vestiges of which are still at times discernible in contemporary historiography that nevertheless aims to transcend them, it becomes evident that from the nineteenth until late twentieth century, Jewish nationals and Russian Muslim immigrants,[51] for instance, were somewhat less legitimate members of the 'imagined community' of 'minorities and foreigners.'

Full access to membership in the imagined community of 'minorities and foreigners' entailed the invention of a link between the two constituent components. The link assumed the guise of a real and/or mythological shared civilizational heritage. From a more pragmatic angle, it additionally allowed for the exploitation of this Greco-Roman civilizational trajectory (already created in the Enlightenment) for the benefit of

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[49] See, among others, Campos, *Ottoman Brothers*, Julia Phillips Cohen, *Becoming Ottomans: Sephardi Jews and Imperial Citizenship in the Modern Era* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2014), Kayalı, *Arabs and Young Turks*, der Matossian, *Shattered Dreams of Revolution*, and Taglia, *Intellectuals and Reform in the Ottoman Empire*.

[50] "A Swift Victory," *London Daily News*, 25 July 1908.

[51] Meyer's "ImMigration, Return, and the Politics of Citizenship," and *Turks Across Empires* as well as Kern's "Rethinking Ottoman Frontier Policies," and *Imperial Citizen* have contributed to deeper understanding of Muslims, as citizens versus foreigners, in the late-Ottoman legal discourse.

mutual interests. It was this link that created the circumstances in which Ottoman minorities could easily become artificial foreigners. If they thence remained in the Ottoman dominions, their newly acquired foreign status in their host-*cum*-home land allowed for them to benefit from extra-territorial privileges.

The transition of an Ottoman 'minority' into an artificial 'foreigner' transpired as a form of 'protection.' Because of the dynamics of civilizational value and status, and the power relations that are inherent in this paradigm, the benefit of a fluid identity was not granted to all equally. Regarding those to whom it was granted, it was an open secret that the system was exploited. Favors begot favors. Great Power agents and representatives were not implicated *en masse*, however.

> Some of the diplomats found the capitulatory system frankly embarrassing. Arthur Hardinge once complained about its abuse, saying the spirit of the rules was being broken to support 'Levantine adventurers' who had little or no affiliation to Britain. He recalled dealing with one claim on behalf of a resident in Galata 'who bore the scarcely Anglo-Saxon surname of Dimitrake.'[52]

Protégé claimants of capitulatory privileges were also a source of agitation for some members of the natural-born foreign national community. As were legitimate claimants of capitulatory privileges within the Ottoman dominions, they often complained of the foreignization of the indigenous as well, as it could also be interpreted as a dilution of their status, and civilizational stock. Indigenous Ottomans transitioning into artificial foreigners meant that they acquired a status reserved for natural-born legal, 'European,' foreigners. Protégés thereby carried the potential to denigrate Great Power nationals by indexing them with 'Oriental' natives who were, according to some, less worthy relatives of Western Europeans with whom they shared a cultural heritage but nevertheless had evolved beyond.

Natural-born Ottomans being considered artificial—sentimental—foreigners or becoming actual foreigners presented a roster of difficulties for the Ottoman state. First and foremost, it was a symptom of the severity of the State's competition with the Great Powers over the loyalty of a natural-born constituency, whose sentiments of belonging the government was incessantly trying to attach to the Ottoman state. Internal social dynamics were shuffled when certain communities or causes were privileged over others, solely based on the impression of a shared civilizational trajectory. For instance,

[52] A. Hardinge, *A Diplomat in the East* (London: Cape, 1923), 13, in John Burman ed., *Notes From Constantinople: The Political Diary of Sir Nicholas O'Conor Britain's Ambassador to the Porte, 1898 – 1908* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2010), 21.

some have attributed the Jewish 'decline' at the turn of the nineteenth century to "structural changes caused by increasing ties with Europe...Greeks and Armenians may have replaced prominent Jews in trade, fiscal and monetary matters during this century because Europe preferred to deal with Christians."[53] External meddling in internal affairs also exacerbated communal conflicts. In the Balkans and eastern Anatolia, for example, the impetus for implementing the 1878 Berlin Treaty's provisions was timed according to "international pressure."[54] It followed that local communities responded to local events in eastern Anatolia based upon what they had interpreted to be analogous circumstances for what had transpired in the Balkans. In other words, the 1895 promise of reforms in the region the Great Powers lexicologically foreignized in its local context as "Turkish Armenia"[55] was seen by Muslim members of the community as "a prelude to Armenian independence ... which would force the Muslim majority either to live under a Christian authority or to abandon their homes and villages to resettle in Muslim lands—as thousands of Muslims from Crimea, the Caucasus, and the Balkans had already been forced to do."[56] Aside from shuffling social dynamics, Great Power intervention in the Ottoman domestic sphere was presented practical difficulties for the State.

In an era in which the Ottoman state was attempting to register citizens, Great Power embassies were among the many forces that contributed to the infamous inaccuracies of the Ottoman censuses, as they denied their hosts the opportunity to conduct full count of those within the territories. The Ottoman state had reserved the right to 'assume' the Ottoman nationality of anyone resident within the dominions with the final article (Art.9) of the *Tabiiyet-i Osmaniye Kanunnamesi* of 1869 (Ottoman Nationality Law).[57] The individual was designated the responsibility to prove his/her foreign nationality—*via* documentation—to be excused from taxation, military service, or evade the jurisdiction of Ottoman laws and tribunals, *etc*. While Great Power embassies tried their nationals and *protégés* in their own embassy courts, they additionally claimed that it would be too difficult to enforce the request of the Ottoman

[53] Mahir Saul, "The Mother Tongue of the Polyglot: Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism among Sepharadim of Istanbul," *Anthropological Linguistics* 25, no. 3 (Fall 1983), 329 – 330.
[54] Eugene Rogan, *The Fall of the Ottomans: The Great War in the Middle East* (New York: Basic Books, 2015), 12.
[55] Rogan, *The Fall of the Ottomans*, 11.
[56] Ibid., 12.
[57] *Tabiiyet-i Osmaniye Kanunnamesidir*, 5 Kanun-i Evvel 1289 (17 December 1873). Atatürk Kitaplığı: Belediye Osmanlıca Kitaplığı, 0.3261.

government to have those who claimed to be foreigners (and thus above Ottoman law) to prove it through legalized residence permits before Ottoman public administration and tribunals in the capital and the provinces; the order was circulated to the embassies in May 1887 by the Grand Vizier, in conformity with the Nationality Bureau.[58] The detriments of such resistance to the modernizing Ottoman government's ability and distinguish its legal constituency from extra-legal 'foreigners,' to register and assert authority over its populace (a portion of whom chose to remain hidden from the State), was exacerbated when the Great Powers would not disclose how many of their nationals were in fact resident in the sultan's dominions. When the Ottoman government conducted its first censuses, "foreigners were excluded owing to protests from foreign embassies at being counted."[59] The inability of the Ottoman government to assert uncontested authority within its own dominions over the domestic constituency it was laboring to maintain hegemony was a continuous challenge that created loopholes for exploitation by various interested parties.

Because of the privileges that accompanied *protégé* status, trends in swapping identities among conceptual 'minorities and foreigners' were observably unidirectional. 'Minorities' more often became 'foreigners' than vice versa. This is not to say that the converse, i.e. the Ottomanization of the foreigner, did not occur. Rather, those who were (self-) categorized as members of the imagined 'minorities and foreigners' community sought to maintain their distinctions against the Ottoman state and constituency, which also served to reinforce the notion that there existed similarities (product of the aforementioned constructed civilizational link) between themselves and members of the 'minority' community they protected. Great Power nationals explicitly maintaining their nations could elevate their social status and allow them to reap more practical benefits. It also simultaneously reiterated the unfeasibility and unnaturalness of the notion that those their home states 'protected' and the occupier of the protected could share the same (national) identity. But Great Power nationals were not the only foreigners—and neither did all Great Power nationals seek belonging in the 'minorities and foreigners' community. As will be demonstrated in the following chapters, while those who could be considered minorities had access to becoming foreigners, in the expansionist context of the Hamidian regime, foreigners were not encouraged to seek membership in the

[58] BOA. HR.HMŞ.İŞO.157.2 (31 May 1887).
[59] Stanford J. Shaw, "The Population of Istanbul in the Nineteenth Century," *IJMES* 10, no. 2 (May 1979), 265.

'minority' communities of Ottoman society. They were encouraged to become Ottomans, *sans* qualifiers.

The identifiably reactive element in the State's drive to forge a collective and popular Ottoman identity contributed to, and was contributed to by, the intensification of the pronouncement of indigenous foreignness. The ideological conceptualization and practical achievement of the Greek nation in 1821, for example, certainly predated and, even, in part, prompted the formulation of the Ottoman proto-nation. Like every other post-Ottoman collectivity, (modern-) Greek national identity was constructed in contrast to an Ottoman other. It hearkened back to the ancient glories of a pre-Ottoman past,[60] and the narrative emphasized that Ottoman occupation had arrested Greek civilization—almost unaltered in its construction, this charge was subsequently extended to the broader Balkans,[61] and, later, the Arab provinces, as well.[62] Because the Ottoman project was designed for the sake of domestic unity and preservation, it competed with and aimed to render obsolete alternative politico-national belongings. So the Ottoman state did construct its national identity, i.e. its Shadow, partially as a pre-emptive measure to counter further domestic foreignizations. This was ever-more urgent since these sentiments were both fostered and exploited by competing external Powers who imposed on the Ottoman state social, political, economic, legal, and moral conditions on the pretext of protecting 'minorities.' It was a self-legitimating cycle that necessitated the visibility of the latter group to justify its 'protection' by a Great Power government, colonial agent, or representative, which, in turn, spoke to the self-interest of each participant while simultaneously feeding the homeland metanarrative of the 'Civilizing Mission.' One manner in which the State could counter foreign intrusion, domestic foreignization, and nation formation, and simultaneously respond to the void that had emerged with the deterioration of the 'old belief-system' was to rationalize.

The Ottoman resolution for the 'void' that had emerged with the apparent unsustainability of the legitimacy basis of traditional authority was the gradual rationalization of the State's structure and legal framework. Most polities that tackled modernity textualized their respective states for internal and external consumption. That this was the standard nineteenth-century response is evidenced, among other means, by

[60] See Michael Herzfield, *Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology, and the Making of Modern Greece* (New York: Pella Publishing, 1986).
[61] See Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009).
[62] See Albert Hourani, "The Ottoman Background of the Modern Middle East," in Kemal H. Karpat ed., *The Ottoman State and Its Place in World History* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974): 61– 78.

the abundance of nationality laws produced in its latter half. Governments aspired for standardization and mechanization—this required the strict identification of distinct components and their functions within a would-be efficient machine. Thus, in a manner that applied the utilitarian achievements of the Industrial Revolution to statecraft, the State, its powers and their jurisdictions, its nationals, their rights and duties, and the State's responsibilities to the aforementioned nationals, *etc.*, were intricately defined. The nation was a deliberately manufactured product. It was necessary for distinction to be addressed—both from within and without. The former would have to be diluted while the latter could be exaggerated by contrast. The vividness of the 'other' validated and preserved the 'self.' The nation materialized as the difference of the two values. This task was especially daunting for the Ottoman state. The silhouette of its Shadow was meant to encapsulate, and thereby unify, multiple types of diversity. The Ottoman nation considered all present and owing allegiance at the time of its declared intent 'to be' a national entity as members, despite the fact that there were those within who claimed and/or were assigned the identity of an 'other.' It thus becomes necessary to consider precisely whom the Ottoman state defined as a member of its constituency—and, by extension, their 'others'—within its legal framework.

The making of the Ottoman state and its nationalism has most often been studied from within; the Ottoman state has been evaluated in relation to its self. Ottoman nationalism was conjured in the second quarter of the nineteenth century to convince the (then-) subject population of unity within the framework of a modernizing Ottoman state that was learning to speak the language of 'nation.' Ottomanism, as a nascent ideology for a collective identity, was the official response to the State's collision with the newly emergent 'modular' phenomenon of nationalism, which was "capable of being transplanted, with varying degrees of self-consciousness, to a great variety of social terrains, to merge and be merged with a correspondingly wide variety of political and ideological constellations."[63] Ottomanism was not solely a unifying doctrine, however—not over the course of the Hamidian years, or before. The overwhelming attention that has been focused on measuring the State's ability to appeal to the foreignizing members of its indigenous constituency through an appeal to Ottomanism has neglected the manner in which the State conceptualized its nationals, *contra* actual foreigners. This has concealed features of the ideology that had could have been geared

[63] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 4.

for offensive purposes. Sometimes, these active Hamidian enterprises have instead been evaluated as an alternate ideology altogether, e.g. pan-Islamism. [64]

Analyzing the Hamidian state's accommodation of im-/migrants reveals that over the course of the reign of the last absolute Ottoman dynast, the State was expansionist. Its ideology was articulated through a malleable Ottomanism that had graduated from a proto-nationalism to a fully-fledged nationalism less than a decade prior to the accession of Abdülhamid II. By the commencement of his reign, individual members of the (superficially) interconnected collective had come to occupy a dominant—though, not uncontested—place in the Ottoman metanarrative and cultural intertext. The previously established Ottoman identity was also vague, however, for it needed to qualify a diverse populace. Because the legal definition of an Ottoman was created in contrast to legal (non-sentimental) foreigners and was simultaneously designed to avert indigenous foreignizations, an Ottoman was an ambiguous specimen. While Ottoman identity was neutral, however, its accompanying ideology of Ottomanism could be refined to suit the interests of the State according to domestic and international circumstances. It allowed, for example, the Hamidian regime to recruit ideological adherents on an extra-territorial platform—this was especially tactful when, the

[64] For a more in-depth analysis of pan-Islamism over the course of the Hamidian years, see Jacob M. Landau, *The Politics of Pan-Islam: Ideology and Organization* (Oxford: Claredon, 1990), Ami Özcan, *Pan-Islamism: Indian Muslims, the Ottomans & Britain, 1877-1924* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), İsmail Kara, "Turban and Fez," and Adeeb Khalid, "Pan-Islamism in Practice," in Elizabeth Özdalga ed., *Late Ottoman Society: The Intellectual Legacy* (London: Routledge, 2004): Others that address the topic are Kemal H. Karpat, who debates the nuances of the pan-/Islamist terminology and its ideological implications in his introduction to *Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State* (New York: Oxford UP, 2001), 11-19, Hasan Kayalı also addresses the implications of the term pan-Islamism, when he claims that "Hamidian Islamism was not expansionist, despite what the term (and particularly the expression pan-Islamism, often used interchangeably with Islamism) suggests," see *Arabs and Young Turks: Ottomanism, Arabism and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire, 1908 – 1918* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1997), 31. Nikki Keddie suggests that Abdülhamid's Iranian propagandists were "moved to support pan-Islam even though many of them were not even Muslims," *An Islamic Response to Imperialism: political and religious writings of Sayyid Jamāl ad-Dīn "al-Afghānī*" (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 30f. Gökhan Çetinkaya observes Iraq from the perspective of Hamidian pan-Islamist policies in "The Caliph and Mujtahids: Ottoman Policy towards the Shi'i Community of Iraq in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Middle Eastern Studies* 41, no. 4 (July 2005): 561-574. The region is also considered in Karen Kern's citizenship studies, which accepts that "[t]he long reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II ushered in an emphasis on pan-Islamism, which was aimed at creating a unity among the Muslim population and preserving the empire despite tremendous territorial loses," see *Imperial Citizen: Marriage and Citizenship in the Ottoman Frontier Provinces of Iraq* (New York: Syracuse UP, 2011), 8. For more on the topic of 'imperial citizenship,' see Michelle Campos, who argues that "the Ottoman citizenship law was not broadly pan-Islamic," in her *Ottoman Brothers: Muslims, Christians and Jews in Early Twentieth-Century Palestine* (Stanford, California: Stanford UP, 2010), 62.

platform was an urban metropolis of a Great Power state, as one of the forthcoming chapters will demonstrate. While the regime was constructing its image from a defensive position in the face of indigenous foreignizations (including its own) it was nevertheless able to improvise offensive international policy on the ideological level, all the while actively dictating the construction of a modern and fluid Ottoman national identity. Over the duration of the Hamidian years, the ambiguity of Ottoman-ness promoted expansionism more than exclusivism.

The Ambiguity of Ottoman-ness

States the modern era in resolved to maintain hegemony and bargain for political and ideological loyalty by weaving the interest of individuals into those of the State. The intellectual frame of reference that drove the Ottoman age of reform was one that acknowledged, *a priori*, the status the individual had attained. The State could not expect loyalty of the individual without addressing the latter's expectations from the State. Promoting a sense of belonging therefore necessitated fostering the conviction within individuals that *their* Ottoman state, whose nationalism they would be subscribing to, would account for the rights of each member within the greater community.[65] The quintessence of the shift to a rational framework with the Revolutionary Age was precisely the need to respond to an awakening that had swept the sentiments of the subject masses: their loyalty could no longer be taken for granted—thenceforth, it would only be expected in exchange for secular, citizen, guarantees.

The process of rationalization was one avenue that the "partnership"[66] between the individual and the polity found expression in. Rationalization entailed the explicit articulation—in a mutually binding charter—of the reciprocal obligations and responsibilities of the two contracting parties. Accordingly, the *Hatt-ı Şerif-i Gülhane*

[65] This is notwithstanding the paradox arising from the fact that not each state counted each individual as a valid and/equal member that made up the collective whole of the nation. The most blatant example of this was the status of slaves in constitutional systems, such as the United States of America. See, for example, David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770—1823* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1999).

[66] Yaycıoğlu uses the term 'partner' to describe the nature of the center-periphery power relationships in his reinterpretation of the political history of the Ottoman state at the turn of the nineteenth century, see Ali Yaycıoğlu, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order in the Age of Revolutions* (Stanford, California: Stanford UP, 2016). He has previously used its Turkish form (*ortaklık*) to describe the essence of the Deed of Agreement, see Ali Yaycıoğlu, "Sened-i İttifak: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda bir ortaklık ve entegrasyon denemesi," in Seyfi Kenan ed., *Nizâm-ı Kâdîm'den Nizâm-ı Cedîd'e: Selim ve dönemi* (Istanbul: ISAM, 2010).

(Edict of the Rose Chamber) of 1839 inaugurated the 'Tanzimat' Era (literally, 'reorganization') with the State's declaration that individuals were entitled to certain guarantees: life, honor, property, and freedom from arbitrary rule. Its precepts were formalized with the 1856 *Islahat Fermanı* (Reform Edict). Two decades later, the Constitution completed the process of weaving the interests of the entire constituency to the interest of the State. All Ottomans were declared members of a collective entity, to be stakeholders in the Ottoman state on an individual basis. The State had met the challenge of modernity, at least theoretically, with the declaration that all were entitled *hürriyet-i şahsi* (individual liberty) in the ninth article of the *Kanun-i Esasi* ('Fundamental Law,' i.e. the Ottoman Constitution).[67] On this path and in synchronicity with its neighbors, the Ottoman state was decidedly invested in the project of nation formation, even if its product struggled to universally convince the constituency.

The rationalization of the Ottoman state required each contracting party to be defined. The advent of the political individual necessitated the State to endeavor toward the erasure of communal identities. Due to the diverse nature of those the Ottoman state wanted to maintain hegemony over, members were defined in conveniently vague and static terms—summarily, they were ethno-religiously neutral. The 1869 *Tabiiyet-i Osmaniye Kanunnamesi* (Ottoman Nationality Law) had defined those who were, were not, could become, and could re-become Ottomans. It had done so solely in relation to what it was to be an Ottoman (and, by extension, a non-Ottoman). The law thus only specified two modes of being: Ottoman and foreign. In reformulating itself to address the individual in a manner that would be inclusive of each pre-existing subject member, the potency of the former basis of the Ottoman state's legitimacy was diluted. Among these factors was its possession of the caliphate, the symbolic status of the House of Osman in the *umma*'s imagination, and its role as protector of the transnational faithful within its borders, and beyond. From the *Islahat Fermanı* onward, the role the State adopted *vis-à-vis* the populace over whom it yielded authority "differed from the Islamic legal and political theory according to which the ethos of the State is justice not equality of all subjects."[68] The equalization of the constituency thus threatened the authority and prestige of the House of Osman in the eyes of some of the members of the very same communal entities that had legitimated its historic rule. The Constitution that

[67] *Salname-i Devlet-i Aliye-yi Osmaniye: Kırk İkinci Defa* (Dersaadet: Mahmud Bey Matbaası, 1304 [1886/87]), 106.
[68] Butrus Abu-Manneh, "Two Concepts of State in the Tanzimat Period: the Hatt-ı Şerif of Gülhane and the Hatt-ı Hümayun," *Turkish Historical Review* 6 (2015), 134.

was drafted by the Tanzimat bureaucrats and declared by Abdülhamid II sought to solve this conflict by reintegrating the Ottoman dynasty's legitimate authority *vis-à-vis* the *umma* into the rational framework of the State.

The Constitution reiterated the individual belonging of each ethno-religiously neutral member to the Ottoman state on an equal basis. Since the implications will be further emphasized in following chapters (e.g. "Chapter I: Migration in a Rational Framework"), it suffices here to state that the Constitution reasserted the House of Osman's caliphal claims (Art. 3 and 4),[69] and declared Islam to be the religion of the Ottoman state, all the while maintaining the freedom of religion for its constituency (Art. 11).[70] While reclaiming his spiritual authority on a transnational platform, the Constitution allowed the sultan to speak to his constituency of ambiguous and neutral individuals as their temporal authority. In the domestic realm, the two discourses merged when they found a single expression in being addressed to the Muslim constituency—the sultan was their temporal and spiritual authority. They were the recipients of two symbiotic, but distinct discourses. It is precisely because the formulation of Ottoman national identity over the course of the Hamidian regime (and beyond) has been observed from the perspective of domestic legitimation policies, that the bifurcation of sultanic authority has been overlooked. From this domestic perspective, not only have the foreignized non-Muslim constituents been viewed as the most consequential 'others' of the generic Ottoman, but, also, the Muslim core-constituent has been regarded as the model Ottoman. This perspective has put forth the argument that the Hamidian vision of the nation was exclusivist in privileging (Hanefi-) Sunni-Ottomans. This was not a "fusion of state and faith,"[71] however. That the Constitution officially formalized the two's division, for good, is observable in the State's engagement with legal foreigners.

The exception to the historiographical neglect of migration in the formulation Ottoman proto-/national identity has been refugee migration from the lost territories of the dominions. It is not surprising that the inclusion and resettlement of Muslims into the shrinking territories has buttressed the thesis of the (Hanefi-) Sunni Ottoman being the model Ottoman, according to the late-Ottoman state. The phenomenological

[69] *Salname-i Devlet-i Aliye-yi Osmaniye: Kırk Yedinci Sene* (Dersaadet: Matbaa-ı Amire, 1309 [1891/92]), 99.
[70] Ibid., 100.
[71] Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam*, 8.

consequence of the Crimean War (1853-56), Russo-Ottoman War (1877-78), and the Berlin Treaty (1878) for the Ottoman state was an influx of millions of (mostly Hanefi-Sunni) Muslim refugees into the shrinking borders, which significantly increased the demographic impact of this group. While the newly independent provinces retained the previously Ottoman Christian population, a substantial proportion of Muslims were driven into dominions. The aftermath of these events meant that the composition of the remainders of the Ottoman state became, demographically, more Muslim. Because the new demographic realities were not the consequence of an active policy that was the expression of the State's will to have a more Muslim state, however, to overemphasize refugee migration in national identity formation risks false considerations. The State became more Muslim because it was unable to retain its pre-dominantly Christian provinces, *despite* its will to do so. It is only the State's response to the phenomenon that can be evaluated for this purpose. Its settlement of refugees in non-Muslim regions can and has been read as an expression of the desire to thin the concentration of non-Muslims in certain regions, for example, when "the State sought to normalize the status of tens of thousands of Muslim refugees from the Caucasus and southeastern Europe [who were] ... settled in sensitive (mixed) areas to help bolster the Muslim balance of power..."[72] While this kind of demographic engineering was certainly contrary to the 'ethos' the State propagated itself to espouse, the increased proportion of Muslims originating from the former territories within the geographically shrinking state cannot factor into how the State formulated the identity of its constituency or its nation. Refugees were already Ottomans—they had already factored into the Ottoman formulation before resettlement. Ottoman refugees were therefore not the others of indistinct Ottomans.

The foreigners pressured by the Hamidian regime to naturalize reveal more about the features of the regime's vision for its nation. As it will be argued in the following chapters, in this realm, the Hamidian state operated on the principles inherent in the Nationality Law and the Constitution. The former defined the identity of the Ottoman 'self' and its 'other.' It dictated the status of resident foreigners and articulated

[72] Campos, *Ottoman Brothers*, 62.

conditions for naturalization.[73] The presence of an unidentifiable number of foreigners within the domains presented an obstacle for the State—it could not exercise absolute authority over the population within its territories, because its laws did not pertain to those who were claimed extraterritorial status. It is counterintuitive for modern states undergoing centralization, nationalization, and homogenization efforts to promote a high volume of foreigner presence. The State has little to no authority over these individuals, who, nevertheless, make a profound social-economic and politico-economic impact, all the while benefiting from citizen benefits without making citizen contributions to the general welfare of the State, e.g. through either military service or tax obligations. It was the ambition of the Hamidian regime "to prevent the proliferation of foreigners."[74] It could be interpreted to be especially damaging for the interest of the State if these foreigners enjoyed capitulatory privileges that elevated them above Ottoman law and provided them with better economic incentives than their indigenous, national, counterparts. It was in the State's interest to have citizens rather than foreigners; its ultimate aim was the latter's naturalization, however, not expulsion.

Regarding the application of the precepts of the Nationality Law, this research has not found evidence that Hamidian state denied naturalization to any individuals based on a discernible Sunni-Ottoman 'exclusivist' agenda. Aside from the cases that are referenced here, Malte Fuhrmann's studies on the underworld of Ottoman port cities has demonstrated that the State had room Great Power prostitutes and pimps, who "took on Ottoman passports"[75] to avoid their home states' harassment and extradition orders. They were not Sunni. They were used as pawns do demonstrate to the Ottoman public Western degeneracy and immorality. They were part of the contest to reclaim "territorial sovereignty"[76] in the face of the Ottoman state being denigrated to the semi-colonial status of losing supremacy (e.g. economic) within its own domains. Whatever the reason, these Great Power outcasts could nevertheless become Ottomans. Non-Muslims did not need to be excluded from potential membership for the State to maintain a predominantly Muslim constituency. If there existed a 'bias' to naturalize

[73] All who were not defined explicitly by Art.1 of the Nationality Law were, by default, non-Ottomans with a right to claim citizenship based on a minimum residency requirement (five if born elsewhere, less if born within the Ottoman dominions). The State reserved the right to assume the Ottoman nationality of all of those who were resident within the territories, until the individual in question could prove otherwise (Art. 9).
[74] BOA.DH.TMIK.M92 (19 Rebiulahir 1318/16 August 1900).
[75] Fuhrmann, "'Western Perversions' at the Gate of Felicity," 167.
[76] Ibid., 161.

more Muslims as Ottomans, this would have occurred through the application of Article 4, through which the State reserved the right to give Ottoman citizenship to those who had not met other articulated conditions.[77] Article 4 would have only expedited becoming an Ottoman, however, as membership was accessible to anyone after five years of residence. The argument that the Hamidian regime was not pan-Islamist, and was—to some extent—exclusivist is accepted; the debate here is whether these features can be traced to the Nationality Law.

The Nationality Law did not dictate migration in the Hamidian Era; it dictated status. Operating in a *quasi*-secular realm, citizenship status located the *de facto* belonging (and, thus, allegiance) of neutral citizens and foreigners, in relation to the Ottoman state. The Nationality Law laid out the conditions for how to become an Ottoman. So long as applicants met the criteria, the Hamidian regime did not deny their ambition for belonging—in fact, it promoted it. The Nationality Law operated with the intent of serving the interest of the State in a secular framework (and was couched in the same rhetoric). Additional bilateral agreements (e.g. capitulatory agreements and the certain prohibitions according to origin state) particularized the treatment a foreigner could expect while within the Ottoman territories, so long as s/he was not seeking citizenship. With regard to foreigners who had crossed Ottoman borders and were within the dominions, the Hamidian regime's response could only be reactive. Its reaction was confined to operate within the precepts of the laws that had rationalized the State before the accession of Abdülhamid—he was bound to them, even as "the ruler who represents the last example of personal rule in the empire."[78] Hamidian Ottomanism, so far at it was operating within the territories and according to the legal framework, was a secular and egalitarian nationalism that conceived of an Ottoman in ethno-religiously neutral terms. Needless to say, these were not its only confines.

Hamidian nation formation and its accompanying Ottomanist nationalism were guided by the principles inherent in the Constitution as much as the Nationality Law. The former dictated the ideology of the Hamidian regime, and the latter outlined its secular identity (of the individuals and the collective they composed). Together, they

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[77] Choucri Cardahi, "La Conception et la pratique du droit international privé dans l'Islam (Étude juridique et historique)," *Recueil des Cours: 1937 (II) Tome 60 de la collection/Collected Courses of the Hague Academy of International Law*, Vol. 60, (Leiden: Nijhoff, 1937), 533.

[78] Selim Deringil, "Legitimacy Structures in the Ottoman State: The Reign of Abdülhamid II (1876-1909)," *IJMES* 23, no. 3 (1991), 345.

allowed the Hamidian regime to operate in two realms, the practical implications of their to representative discourses only merged in the natural-born Muslim constituency. Regarding foreigners as potential-Ottomans, members could be recruited to the nation-under-formation on a transnational platform by channeling the established and legitimated 'Fundamental Law' of the land. The Nationality Law, on the other hand, dictated the terms and procedures of their naturalization.

That the Hamidian regime took heed of what was articulated in the Constitution has been generally disregarded. Abdülhamid's declaration of it and the convening of the Ottoman Parliament were quickly followed by one being suspended and the other being prorogued. Despite this, the argument that the Hamidian regime had no interest in the Constitution has to be approached skeptically. Many of the principles enshrined in it were still adhered to over the course of Abdülhamid's autocratic rule—not the least because they were not original to the Constitution but were a part of the inheritance of the Hamidian State. Aside from those articles of the Constitution that repeated constituency rights that had already been legitimated by the Rose Chamber and Reform Edicts, the charter had textualized the Sultan's symbolic roles for global consumption. Most principally, the Constitution re-integrated the role of the Ottoman sultan as the caliph of all Muslims in the rational framework, this time in a contract whose adherence and integrity was to be defended on a universal scale (e.g. by the Great Powers). It had been accepted and hailed by the national and international community, and its principles had thereby been textualized and legitimated. The Hamidian regime needed to convey some semblance of loyalty to the Constitution's essence; "[t]he sultan knew the contents of the constitution better than his opponents."[79] It had value for the Hamidian state, which is why it was annually printed in the *Salname-i Devlet-i Aliye-i Osmaniye* (the *Yearbook of the Sublime Ottoman State*). It is in light of this that it becomes significant to note that "in the crisis of 1876 to 1878 Abdülhamid felt his way gradually—first weakening the constitutional draft, then getting rid of the chief supporters of the constitution, then proroguing the chamber sine die, *but never abolishing the constitution* [emphasis added]." [80] Thenceforth, Abdülhamid tailored himself as a benevolent sovereign and labored to render sections of the constitution (e.g. representative

[79] Rogan, *The Fall of the Ottomans*, 1.
[80] Roderic H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1876* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1963), 404.

government) obsolete by seemingly-providing his constituency with the secular guarantees it promised, personally.[81] He took a similar approach to the caliphate.

The Hamidian regime engineered the bifurcation of official Ottomanism and thereby advocated belonging in two spheres.[82] The Nationality Law governed the condition of being an Ottoman in temporal terms—the Hamidian state did not contest the static and ethno-religiously neutral identity that was rationalized for active nationalization in the decade that preceded its ascent. The Ottoman Constitution that was declared upon the commencement of Abdülhamid's reign, however, did allow the State to develop official Ottomanism with expansionist ambitions. As a malleable ideology, Ottomanism could be fine-tuned to promote a certain type of neo-/citizen over another, depending on the platform upon which it was employed. In short, following the formalization of the separation of faith and state ensured by the Constitution, the Hamidian regime solicited extraterritorial adherents (inclusive of those who were territorial) for Ottomanism on divine authority.

Abdülhamid II was able to propagate belonging for extraterritorial adherents based on divine appeal, and utilize the same discourse for his domestic Muslim constituency,

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[81] Of the Constitutions articles that were not repetitions of those assured by the Rose Chamber and Reform Edicts (e.g. inviolability of personal property, fair taxation, etc.), the Hamidian regime systematically and explicitly broke two to three of the twenty-six universal rights guaranteed to Ottomans: the freedom of the press (Art. 12) and the requirement for proficiency in Turkish to hold public office (Art.18), e.g. British Ambassador Sir Austen Henry Layard remarked that Grand Vizier Tunisian Hayrettin Paşa was "not thoroughly acquainted with the Turkish language, although he speaks it with sufficient fluency," F.O. 881/3800X, No.33—[138.] Confidential, *Sir A. H. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.* —(*Received December 21.*). Many Young Turks claimed in their exilic organs that torture and inquisition (forbidden by Art. 26) were prominent features of the Hamidian mode of government—though, in the absence of verifiable proof, it is difficult to ascertain the line between truthful testimony and sensationalism (e.g. the Committee of Union and Progree ed., *English Supplement to "The Osmanlı"the Organ of the "Young Turkish Party"* 1 (Geneva: 15 July 1898). As for the remainder of the Constitution, while the Hamidian mis-/applications of its stipulations are beyond the purview of this research, all of the articles that discuss the regulations of a would-be parliamentary system and collaborative government (Art. 42—80) were discarded. There was no semblance of a representative government, which, by extension, denied the people symbolic participation. Since the absolutist sultan cultivated his image as the benevolent sovereign who would fulfil his obligations to his constituency without placing sovereignty in the nation, the extent to which the regime broke the guarantees to the Ottoman public remains difficult to gauge (e.g. pertaining to their rights in tribunals or their entitlement to free, obligatory, education, for example). In the final tally, however, it was an autocratic system thoroughly incompatible with the demands of a state that recognized the rights of the individual, for whom it was attempting to cultivate feelings of belonging and solidarity (e.g. it violated the individual's basic liberties of singular and collective expression and self-/representation), which, inevitably, resulted in its demise.

[82] Akcasu, "Migrants to Citizens: An Evaluation of the Expansionist Features of Hamidian Ottomanism, 1876-1909," *Die Welt Des Islams* 56, no. 3/4 (2016): 387-413.

without contradicting the State's modernizing identity. The Constitution had rationally reaffirmed his distinct, protective, role regarding the *umma*; ideological recruitment methods relied upon the sanctified status of Abdülhamid as caliph of the faithful. While the Hamidian state was bound to the faithful application of rational law in naturalizing all foreigners, irrespective of race or creed, it also assumed the role of custodian and promoted a sense of belonging for the transnational *umma*, without necessarily promoting its members' migration to the Ottoman domains. Rearing Ottoman loyalists out of hostile state nationals allowed the State to retaliate in the game of cultural imperialism. In the event that seeking harmony between sentimental and national belonging prompted an individual's relocation into the sultan-caliph's dominions, the State switched to the rational framework and requested national loyalty in addition to ideological adherence (which was assumed as already secured, a notion the State could not take for granted regarding its domestic constituency). Upon relocation, those who were recruited as extraterritorial Ottomanists were treated on equalized terms with Ottomans and would-be Ottomans already within the dominions, where national interest overrode all other factors.

The Hamidian regime ensured that a Muslim populace remained the dominant identity of the Ottoman state—within a sea of ethno-religiously neutral Ottomans. It achieved this through formulating an expansionist trans-/national official Ottomanism while remaining within the confines of rational laws that preceded and dated to the commencement of the era. The Hamidian state solicited extraterritorial adherents based on caliphal appeal that was legitimated by the Constitution. While it could promote a certain type of immigrant through tailored ideological recruitment methods, it could not manipulate demographics by denying belonging to those who had met the conditions articulated by the Nationality Law. Neither could the State explicitly privilege Muslims over non-Muslims in the law's implementation. The Nationality Law was severe in its treatment of those who rejected their natural-born Ottoman status, who, over the course of the Hamidian years, were more often non-Muslims than Muslims. It still was not exclusivist, however, since unlike other nationality laws that will be evaluated in a comparative perspective, the State still claimed the Ottoman nationality of the offspring

of those who rejected Ottoman nationality, neither did it impose 'dependent citizenship' on Ottoman women.[83]

This study of the phenomenon of migration into the 'well-protected domains' in the last Ottoman century concedes continuities between the Tanzimat, Hamidian, and Young Turk eras. If there were shifts in the ideological trajectory to maintain hegemony by consent,[84] they, too, were confined to maneuver within the confines of a new rational framework that the State was obliged to acknowledge and give semblance of loyalty to. The Ottoman state benefited from the evolution of the legal system because it made the process of centralization and nationalization more efficient; the system was its tool. The State had the potential to serve and be served by a textualized, organic, legal system,

> If every State tends to create and maintain a certain type of civilisation and of citizen (and hence of collective life and of individual relations), and to eliminate certain customs and attitudes and to disseminate others, then the Law will be its instrument for this purpose.[85]

In other words, the law is able to normalize a new status quo for the civil society that reinforces the State's position of dominance over it. Law also accumulates and is inherited, however. The government that is in a position to dictate new legal realities to serve its own benefit for the totality of the temporal continuum that begins with its accumulation of power and reaches forward into the future, for which it wants to guarantee its position, cannot achieve consent without upholding its legal inheritance. The Hamidian regime, therefore, could not expect voluntary legal obedience if it was, itself, arbitrarily—unjustifiably and unpunctually—[86]negligent.

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[83] The Ottoman Nationality Law did, however, acknowledge the validity of 'dependent citizenship' by allowing recourse to natural-born Ottoman status for women whose marriages to a foreigner were dissolved, in the event that she had been imposed the nationality of her husband by the other state's law. For an evaluation of dependent citizenship in the Ottoman frontier-zone context, see Kern's *Imperial Citizen* and "Rethinking Ottoman Frontier Policies."

[84] Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, 12.

[85] Ibid., 246.

[86] Whether the act was premeditated or not, Abdülhamid II suspended the constitution and dissolved parliament at a moment that would have made it plausible to assume that, for him, "the parliament was more of a hindrance than a help to the national cause." See Rogan, *The Fall of the Ottomans,* 3. In the context of the 1877-78 Russo-Ottoman, for which he had already successfully galvanized the core-constituency through his singular, caliphal, call for *jihad*, popular opposition to absolutism would have been unlikely—especially given the fact that the still-novel constitution's declaration was, itself, not considered to be the will of the people. It was the will of the interested-bourgeois intellectual elite, who had been educated at Tanzimat schools to become members of the governing bureaucracy but were denied a say in any of its affairs, and was expressed at a moment that betrayed submission to direct and indirect Great Power pressure. The unfeasibility of gathering public or international support for the opposition in a time of conflict made itself evident, even to the Young Turks in the following decades.

The migrant prism elaborates on an essential feature of the Hamidian regime. It adds nuance to the State's temporal, practical, and ideological investment in the construction of an Ottoman citizenry and official nationalist ideology. Both operated within the confines of an inherited rational framework and legal principles, prior to the collapse of sultanic authority. Expressly, the Hamidian regime formulated an Ottoman nation that it could neither seal nor declare. The explicit declaration of the nation would have undermined the regime, since the act necessitated a cathartic moment in which sovereignty would be transferred from the sultan to the nation (in the form of representative government—or at least a semblance of it). As long as the Hamidian regime formulated a malleable nationalism, constructed the nation, but did not seal the nation through its declaration, the Ottoman state remained open to outsiders. It was expansionist.

The Sealing of the Nation

Nations are sealed through cathartic moments that are later (re-) fashioned as the (symbolic) triumph over the oppressive force that had inhibited self-actualization at an earlier juncture, i.e. the moments that mark a mythic rupture and are conjured for ceremonies and invented traditions that retrospectively legitimate and affirm the naturalness and inevitability of imagined communities. As it has been argued, while the Hamidian regime formed the nation, it could not seal it. The catharsis would have undermined Abdülhamid's absolutist rule; it necessitated a victory for sovereignty of the nation. The official Ottomanism of the Hamidian regime was instead tied to the sovereign, himself. The anniversary of Gazi Sultan Abdülhamid Han II's accession was announced in the native press as an event to be rejoiced and treated as a "holiday [by] ... citizens, young, old, man and woman... each individual honored to rise to Ottomanism."[87] The sultan was the proclaimed monarch of every Ottoman national and extraterritorial adherent. The Ottomanists' chant was formulated with a possessive; it emphasized their personal relationship with the dynast: "*padişahım çok yaşa*" ("long

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During the 1897 Greco-Ottoman War, after much deliberation and with the Ottoman triumph in-sight, indeed, one of the main exilic branches nevertheless resolved to announce the "'decision to suspend all agitation until the war is ended and to abstain from any movement whatever that might trouble or embarrass the government.' [Furthermore], because of the crisis and the war, the Great Powers avoided intervening in Ottoman domestic politics." See, Hanioğlu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, 96.

[87] See, for example, the celebration of the accession in the women's press, *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, 19 Ağustos 1311 [31 August 1895].

live *my* sultan").[88] Thus, while the Hamidian state built a relationship with single individual Ottomans, the Young Turk Regime attempted to create a single, coherent, national entity out of them. While the Hamidian regime fashioned a ceremony (e.g. holiday) for the nation out of the sultan's accession, the Young Turk regime created a national holiday *for* the Ottoman nation.

On 23 July 1908, a rebellion that began in Macedonia three weeks prior had snowballed its way to the Ottoman capital in the form of a revolution. The sultan resolved to "follow the current;"[89] he restored the Constitution and reconvened parliament. While it may have been "a reflection of how few people bothered to read the heavily censored Ottoman press that it took a full twenty-four hours before the public reacted to the news,"[90] on the twenty-fifth hour, the preceding day's events were interpreted as a triumph for Ottoman liberalism. The Constitution was celebrated by the Ottoman constituency—domestic, exilic and diasporic, from Istanbul to the Americas—[91] along with members of the international community. It is argued herewith, that the constituency who was once asked to 'rise' for Ottomanism could not have 'risen' to the Ottoman 'nation' on 24 July so enthusiastically if the decades of Abdülhamid's rule had not managed to foster and formulate a viable collectivity of individuals, inclusive of naturalized foreigners, unified in their sentimental belonging to the Ottoman state; it was they who responded with 'euphoria'[92] to the cause and prospect of the transfer of sovereignty from absolutist dynast to the body they composed.

[88] See, for example, the celebration of the accession in the organ of Liverpool's Muslim community, *The Crescent*, 12 September 1900.
[89] Georgeon, *Abdülhamid II*, 80, in Rogan, *The Fall of the Ottomans*, 5.
[90] Rogan, *The Fall of the Ottomans*, 5.
[91] For examples of domestic, exilic and diasporic responses to the reinstitution of the constitution, see Der Matossian, *Shattered Dreams of Revolution*, and Steven Hyland Jr., "Arisen from Deep Slumber: Transnational Politics and Competing Nationalisms among Syrian Immigrants in Argentina, 1900 – 1922," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 43, no. 3 (2011): 547 -574.
[92] This is Der Matossian's term.

The (semblance of the) transference of power to the collectivity of individuals (i.e. the nation) that had been negotiated and formed over the course of the Hamidian years—also by contrast to external others (e.g. foreigners)—materialized in the moment of the retrospectively ceremony-able 'catharsis' of 1908. It was subsequently memorialized, in 1909. The triumph and the sealing of the nation is observable in an addition made to the *Salname-i Devlet-i Aliye-i Osmaniye* between the 1326 (1908/09) and 1327 (1909/10) volumes. The Ottoman constitution was the State's modern "expression of political independence."[93] It had additionally declared the rational existence of state and citizen. While it duly made its appearance in each and every volume of the *Salname* printed over the course of the Hamidian years, the *Salname* of 1327 (1909/10) referred, for the first time, to an Ottoman nation (Image 1). The memorialization of its sovereignty was devoted an entire page—the volume's only page in color (red).[94] Beneath a single star and crescent, it read: "*İyd-i Milli Osmani Temmuz 10*" (Ottoman Nation/-al Holiday 10 July).[95] It celebrated the declaration of the Ottoman Constitution, but, significantly, it also preceded the Constitution in the actual volume. The individual citizens that had been defined to be in the process of form*ing* an Ottoman nation over the course of the preceding decades finally constituted an acknowledged—representable—member of a defined unified collective. They were denominated the 'Ottoman nation,' and were to take precedence. The nationalism that had been forged throughout the Hamidian years had formally 'engendered' its nation. The sealing the Ottoman nation subsequently led to a transformation of its identity; it was no longer 'suspended.' Like all nationalisms that meet their nations, it became inward looking and sought to protect and reinforce a declared identity that became more narrow, and, hence, 'exclusivist.'

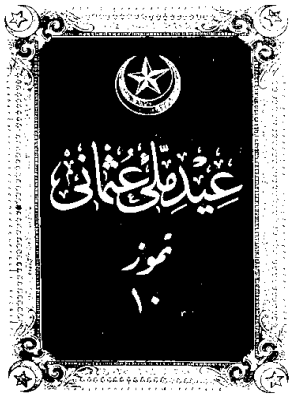

Image I.I

[93] Woolf ed., *Nationalism in Europe*, 1.
[94] The page devoted to the Ottoman coat of arms with the seal of Abdülhamid was, by contrast, black and white.
[95] *Salname-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniye: Altmış Altıncı Defa* (Dersaadet: Selanik Matbaası, 1327 [1909/10]), 14.

The Structure of the Thesis

This thesis argues that the national identity synthesis achieved by the Hamidian regime revealed itself in the dialogical zone of the liminal stage of the 'foreigner'—existing between migration and naturalization. The central argument is that the regime was fully invested in forming a nation, though, adamant about not sealing it. Furthermore, the Hamidian state's propaganda apparatus simultaneously propagated Ottomanism in two realms: territorial and extraterritorial. The argument commences with a discussion of the rational framework inherited by the State.

"Migration in a Rational Framework" traces the revision of the State's relationship with subject-*cum*-citizens at the juncture of modernity. This juncture is defined as the historical moment when the State had to reckon with the 'individual's' acquisition of the power of political consequentiality. This chapter thus traces the development of Ottoman national identity formation through the proliferation of those whose interests were woven into the interest of the State from the 1808 *Sened-i İttifak* (Deed of Agreement) until the 1876 Constitution. The latter declared all Ottomans to be stakeholders in the welfare of the State. It is accepted here that "national identity is an abstract concept that sums up the collective expression of a subjective individual sense of belonging to a socio-political unit: the nation state."[96] Following this assumption, the chapter concludes with a discussion on Ottoman nationalism.

Ottomanism, as the State's official nationalism, was the 'bias' the State had to 'mobilize' in the hearts and minds of its constituency. Its function was to naturalize the populace's (primary) sense of belonging to a very particular collective consciousness: the one engineered by the State to reinforce its hegemony over the seemingly new collective (i.e. the refashioned old collective). In other words, for the State to maintain its capacity to exercise 'radical power' over a 'conflict' and 'non-conflict' temporal continuum, masses had to feel what the decision-makers (i.e. the State) "want[ed] them to feel:"[97] What the what the Hamidian regime 'wanted' them to feel was a sentimental attachment to the Ottoman state. The fostering of this sentiment was channeled through legal, literary, social, political, and media appendages that were entrusted with the task of 'securing' the people's "compliance by controlling their thoughts and desires…thought control takes many less total and mundane forms [than '*Brave New*

[96] Woolf ed., *Nationalism in Europe*, 25—6.
[97] Lukes, *Power: A Radical View,* 23.

World and the world of B.F. Skinner'], through the control of information, through mass media and through the process of socialisation."[98] It is granted that one of the ambitions of Ottomanism was to halt domestic foreignization.

"The City, Incomplete" focuses on Istanbul as the chosen site from which to observe the impact of the collision of the State's apparatus, the domestic constituency, and elements that are pronounced as 'foreign/er.' The dynamics of the city echoed, though in concentrated and exaggerated form, the *crescendos* and *diminuendos* of inter-/national affairs. To a certain extent, the flexibility of the State in its own capital measured the power it wielded over its own affairs. Great Power influence and competition were so ubiquitous in Istanbul, that some perceived that "foreign intrigue was [even] evident in the palace."[99] Contestation with Great Powers over the Ottoman constituency's loyalty was pronounced to an extent that allowed Tahsin Paşa, an aide and presumed confidante of the Sultan, to defame an adversary on precisely this basis. In his post-Hamidian memoirs, Tahsin Paşa questions the loyalty of Hacı Ali Paşa, a palace-insider and supports his allegation with the statement that Adam Block, a British Embassy representative, had on one occasion told him that Hacı Ali Paşa was "one of ours...[they] claimed ownership." [100] Significantly, Ottomans observed and were observed in Istanbul—the State was very much aware. The State's functioning in the city can therefore provide a lens through which one can observe how it wanted this will to be perceived. This chapter introduces the will of the State and its vision for a nation by analogy: of the State's engagement with the city's many names.

The Hamidian regime asserted ownership over of all manifestations of identity. That it sought to ultimate authority over both material and symbolic identities is evident in its responses to the existence of multiple signifiers for the seat of its authority. Like all words, each lacked innocence. [101] Nevertheless, the State did not force into circulation a single name for the city. Instead, it usurped the social existence of each appellation as an expression of its own multiple identities. Rather than challenging those among them imbued with an inherent capacity to express a position contrary to its own interest, the Hamidian regime upheld and perpetuated the Ottoman tradition of

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[98] Lukes, *Power: A Radical View,* 23.
[99] Tahsin Paşa, *Abdülhamit Yıldız Hatıraları* (İstanbul: Muallim Ahmet Halit Kitaphanesi, 1931), 39.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, John B. Thompson ed., Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson trans. (Cambridge: Polity, 1991), 40.

taking active—and ultimate—ownership of all the city's names. It was the will of the Hamidian state to circulate both the signifier *Ko(n)stantiniyye* (City of Constantine) and its potential challenger, *Dar ul-Hilafet-i Aliyye* (Gate of the Sublime Caliphate), among others. Each was utilized according to how the State wanted to position itself in relation to the intended audience. Abdülhamid thus upheld the House of Osman's tradition of propagating itself as both the conqueror *and* the inheritor of Byzantium.[102] The connotation of the conflicting meanings conveyed in the multiplicity of the city's appellations was less significant than the final surrender of each, to the Ottoman state. The chapter continues with an elaboration on the features of the most visible and discussed foreigners within the Ottoman dominions: Great Power nationals.

"Transcending Borders, Negotiating Identities" challenges images conjured by the word 'foreigner' in the Ottoman historical context. While the preceding chapter's focus was on Great Power nationals who conform to the image of 'the foreigner' in the late-Ottoman capital, this chapter introduces a Great Power national who was not an ideological agent of her home state, Britain. On the contrary, she expressed her active opposition to the State that had claimed her natural-born allegiance by seeking belonging in the sultan's dominions. The chapter evaluates the successes of extra-territorial Ottomanism by demonstrating how the tangibility of the sultan-caliph was promoted in the late-nineteenth century Anglo-Muslim (convert) community of Liverpool, England. An analysis of the rhetoric employed in the community's press reveals a significant attachment to the Ottoman nation-under-formation. The tightening of the bonds between the Ottoman state and its extra-territorial, non-national, ideological adherents in Liverpool intensified in the 1890s and culminated at the turn of the twentieth-century—the timing makes it plausible that the Hamidian state was retaliating to the pressures placed on the Ottoman state by British politicians, missionaries, and public opinion. Anti-Hamidianism fuelled by "humanitarianism"[103] was eventually coupled with an increase in the severity of anti-Islamic sentiment in the British home state. The metanarrative gradually materialized into the social exclusion

[102] The name Kostantiniyye was employed both in the context of the city's conquest and on coins minted in the Ottoman state. For an example of the former, see, Ahmet Refik, *Büyük Tarih-i Umumi, Altıncı Cilt* (Istanbul: Kitaphane-i İslam ve Askeri—İbrahim Hilmi, 1328 [1910/11]), 442. For images of Ottoman coins prior to the Hamidian era, see Şevket Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000), the Hamidian regime also minted coins displayed the name Kostantiniyye.

[103] For a discussion on the emergence of humanitarianism as a part of British politics and foreign policy, see Michelle Tusan, *Smyrna's Ashes: Humanitarianism, Genocide, and the Birth of the Middle East* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2012).

and marginalization of the convert community, i.e. "the infidel within."[104] Some members of the Anglo-Muslim community refused the terms imposed by their home state societies and pursued harmony in the ever-widening gap between their sentimental and national belongings, elsewhere. While the home state was rejecting them, the Hamidian state was prepared to offer benefits for religious and ideological allegiance.

The Hamidian regime did not promote the migration of extraterritorial Ottomanists as a policy. It did nevertheless promote the idea of an open border and was prepared for their potential settlement in the Ottoman territories. A feature of the dynamics of nineteenth century Great Power modernity, civilization, and progress was that for women, 'Western' promises were often deferred in their homelands. Convert women were defeated twice: once on account of their gender and once on account of their chosen religion, the latter was interpreted by compatriots as a betrayal. With increased mobility in the nineteenth century, single lower-to-middle class women who were disenfranchised in their home state societies sometimes sought change and opportunity in the sultan's dominions, irrespective of their religion. The arguable difference between how the State responded to female Great Power outcasts and those among them who were converts to Islam was the resources the State was prepared to expend to ease the latter's integration into the Ottoman society. Convert women felt entitled to ask for the State's help solely on account of their conversion. Anticipating them eventually *becoming* citizens, the State provided them with services that were ordinarily considered citizen-benefits (e.g. shelter, allowance, free education for their children in public schools). According to the stipulations of the nationality laws of their natural-born states, Great Power women who married men of other nations were rejected from their nations. Those among them who married Ottoman men joined the Ottoman nation. Thus with the addition of those unconvinced by competitors' nationalist *and* civilizational rhetoric, the Hamidian state grew.

"Multiple-belongings, Long-Distance Nationalism" takes Iranians living within the Ottoman dominions as its focus. Through this lens, it engages with historiography that has argued for the exclusivist nature of the Hamidian state and its legitimation policies. It concedes that the Ottomanization of Islam under the reign of Abdülhamid II was, as has been argued elsewhere, not a pan-Islamist venture. The chapter challenges, however, the assertion that the policies directed at Iranians is demonstrative of this.

[104] Humayun Ansari, *The Infidel Within: The History of Muslims in Britain, 1800 to the Present* (London: C Hurst & Co., 2004)

Despite the fact that measures such as the 1874 prohibition of marriages between Ottoman women and Iranian men were couched in a language that stresses preventing the spread of Shi'i Islam, it is argued that the Hamidian state's ultimate aim was to secure national interest. The achievement of this aim outweighed other considerations, e.g. including alterations in religious demographics.[105] This is demonstrated through the debate that the punishment for the 'crime' of Ottoman women marrying Iranian men (with appears to have garnered greater energy than prevention) actually only ensured an increase in the number of Shi'i Ottomans. The penalty was the maintenance of the Ottoman nationality of the woman in question and the extension of her nationality to her offspring. It is further argued that this imposed retention of natural-born status for Ottoman women and its inheritance by her illegal offspring was instead motivated by the opportunity afforded by the timing of the Ottoman Nationality Law with respect to the rationalization of Qajar identity. As stated in the first chapter, most states adopted nationality laws in their processes of legal rationalization in the second half of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, most Great Power states included a dependent citizenship clause, which ejected women and their offspring from the nation upon marriage to a foreigner, stating that the woman becomes a national of her husband's state.

The Ottoman Nationality Law did not discuss the nationality of Ottoman women who married foreign men. The Nationality Law only gave Ottoman women recourse to re-claiming natural-born status it *in the event* of having lost it upon marriage to a foreigner, which would have been imposed by the husband's state rather than the Ottoman. The law could therefore not fight for Ottoman women who married Great Power nationals, for example. The law on the status of Qajar nationals, on the other hand, was passed after the one dictating the status of Ottoman, on 7 August 1894.[106] Because both the Ottoman Nationality Law *and* the marriage prohibition (that upheld the natural-born status of Ottoman women who married Iranian men) pre-empted the dependent citizenship clause later imposed by the Qajar state, the Ottoman state was able to fight for Ottoman women who married Qajar nationals, adopt the illegal

[105] For a discussion of these topics, see Selim Deringil, "The Struggle against Shiism in Hamidian Iraq: A Study in Ottoman Counter Propaganda," *Die Welt des Islams*, New Series, Bd. 30, 1:4 (1990): 45 – 62, and Kern's *Imperial Citizen* and "Rethinking Ottoman Frontier Policies: Marriage and Citizenship in the Province of Iraq."

[106] "Persia," in Richard W. Flournoy Jr. and Manley O. Hudson eds., *A Collection of Nationality Laws of Various Countries as Contained in Constitutions, Statutes, and Treatises* (New York: Oxford UP, 1929), 473.

offspring of the unions, and make the adoption of Ottoman nationality of the husbands an imposed and necessary condition for the preservation of the family unit. Summarily, confronted with the choice of Shi'i Ottomans and Shi'i Qajars, the Hamidian regime preferred the former. The State could (try to) register them, and subsequently validate its authority to exercise power over them. Qajar nationals within the dominions lived beyond Ottoman jurisdiction. Thus with the addition of those whose religious adherence challenged the Hanefization-Ottomanization efforts of the regime, the Hamidian state grew.

"The Hamidian Vision of the Nation" is the concluding chapter of this thesis and puts forth the simple argument that the last Ottoman dynast to be able to exercise absolute power before the collapse of sultanic authority put national interest above other factors. Upholding national interest was perceived to entail the continuation of the centralization efforts that had commenced at the turn of the nineteenth century. The urgent task was the Ottomanization of the domestic constituency—the achievement of all within the dominions being accountable to the State in a social, legal, military, economic, and political capacity. Due to external and internal dynamics, some members of the constituency became sentimental foreigners and sought alternate belongings. While negotiating the impact of multiple foreignizations (including its own) within the dominions and failing to persuade "crucial local factors"[107] (for reasons that include the reintegration of the State's religious identity into the rational framework), the Hamidian regime nevertheless constructed its formal identity solely by contradistinction to legal foreigners. It is argued in this chapter that 'faith and state' were not 'fused' over the course of the Hamidian years. Instead, the separation of the two was formalized. Thenceforth, they operated in distinct—yet, complimentary—spheres. That 'faith and state' only merged in being directed at the Sunni-Ottoman component of the constituency is revealed in the State's accommodation of foreigners. In this domain, the State did not exhibit exclusivist tendencies. Instead, because the Hamidian regime was not sealed and had room to grow, it grew, all the while coming to terms with loss. Though its territorial integrity was challenged, the State expanded demographically and ideologically by recruiting foreigners—both as extraterritorial Ottomanist allies, and as new members of the Ottoman nation-under-construction.

[107] Blumi, *Foundations of Modernity,* 28.

Nationality is the relationship each individual has to a state...[108]

Migration in a Rational Framework

The question of how foreigners were considered in the processes of Ottoman identity formation over the course of the Hamidian years first needs to address how the State defined a foreigner. And answering this question necessarily begins with how the State defined an Ottoman. While Sultan Abdülhamid has been granted significant agency and credit in personally shaping the collective identity of state and nation over the course of his three decades in power, it is often taken for granted that the non-constitutionalist sultan had to nevertheless navigate within the confines of legal precedence that had been established prior to his accession. Abdülhamid may have been the "last Ottoman sultan who had ruled with absolute power"[109] prior to the collapse of sultanic authority, but he was still accountable and could not rule completely arbitrarily. In other words, regarding citizenship, Abdülhamid II did not have the power to define who was Ottoman and who was foreign. This chapter evaluates the Hamidian regime's rational inheritance insofar as it concerns national identity formation. It also considers the room the formulation leaves for the interpretation that Ottoman nationality was exclusivist, especially in comparison to other late-nineteenth century nationality laws.

Over the course of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman state became actively involved in the construction of an official identity for the Ottoman citizenry. From the inauguration of the Tanzimat (1839) onwards, Abdülhamid became the sole sultan able to consolidate absolute authority in the person of the dynastic sovereign. Whatever his fundamental vision for the Ottoman nation was, he could not disregard the fact that it had already germinated. The man "who was in effect the last real sultan of the empire"[110] nonetheless inherited a rationalizing state. He therefore had to negotiate his own vision with the substantial headway his predecessors had already achieved in the forming of the modernizing Ottoman state and nation. Over the course of the nineteenth century, the relationship between subject and sovereign had gradually transformed into a contractual one that was characterized by mutual rights and obligations. The process

[108] Mahmud Fuad, *Tâbiiyet* (İstanbul: Nişan Berbeyan Matbaası, 1312 [1894/95]), 7.
[109] Benjamin C. Fortna, *The reign of Abdülhamid II*," in Reşat Kasaba ed., *The Cambridge History of Turkey, Vol. 4: Turkey in the Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2008), 61.
[110] Deringil, *Well-Protected Domains*, 10.

had begun with the *Sened-i İttifak* (Deed of Agreement*)* of 1808[111] and was ensured popularization with the promulgation of the 1839 *Hatt-i Şerif-i Gülhane* (Rose Chamber Edict) that marked the symbolic commencement of the Tanzimat era. The *Kanun-i Esasi* ('Fundamental Law,' i.e. Ottoman Constitution) was a culmination.

Sultan Abdülhamid declared the Ottoman state's embrace of a constitutional system almost as soon as he ascended to the throne. A *Reuter's Telegram* reported on 1 September 1876 that the "announcement of the deposition of Murad and the proclamation of Prince Abdul Hamid as his successor has been received with perfect tranquility on the part of the population;"[112] The Constitution was declared by the end of the year. In fact, Tanzimat bureaucrats had made Abdülhamid's accession contingent upon his declaration of the charter and the date had been "fixed for the first plenary meeting of the Conference of Constantinople."[113] The role played by the bureaucrats in the 'shuffling' of sovereigns was no secret. The *Edinburgh Evening News* blatantly opined on the State of the Porte's political affairs, which had rendered the Ottoman sovereign a "fictitious monarch"[114] on the day of Abdülhamid's accession ceremonies:

> ...Murad was known to have a weakness for absinthe, but his madness did not appear till after his accession. Abdul Hamid is said to entertain a fondness for domestic pets, and for holding out a heavy chair with one arm; but it is also hinted that he detests the New Turkish Party, and is a devoted upholder of the old régime. Should Abdul Hamid desert his former innocent diversions, and proceed to amuse himself with the policy of obstruction, Midhat Pasha will no doubt find that he has shuffled the cards against himself, and made a bad change from idiot to fanatic. The task of king-making has always been dangerous; and the latest instance of the manufacture will not improbably fall within the rule.[115]

It did not appear in the first few months of Abdülhamid's rule that Midhat Paşa had "shuffled the cards against himself."[116] As 1876 was coming to a close Abdülhamid seemed to only affirm the impression he had given to Midhat Paşa on his private "interview"[117] with him at his Musluoğlu residence. Ali Haydar Midhat Bey, who was Midhat Paşa's son and, unsurprisingly, an opponent of the sultan, published an account of the meeting. He claimed that the heir presumptive had "promised [Midhat Paşa] all

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[111] For a more in-depth discussion of the Deed of Agreement see, Yaycıoğlu, "Sened-i İttifak."
[112] "The New Sultan. Constantinople, August 31," *Morning Post* (1 September 1876).
[113] Ali Haydar Midhat Bey, *The Life of Midhat Pasha: A Record of his Services, Political Reforms, Banishment, and Judicial Murder* (London: John Murray, 1903), 132.
[114] "The Evening News," *Edinburgh Daily News* (1 September 1876).
[115] Ibid.
[116] Ibid.
[117] Midhat Bey, *The Life of Midhat Pasha*, 98; also see, Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire*, 353, 420.

and more than all that was asked of him. He pretended to opinions more advanced than the most advanced of his Ministers, and in favour of a more democratic Constitution than the one elaborated."[118] The Constitution was duly proclaimed in December 1876 and the Russo-Ottoman War that commenced the following year became the context of its "strangulation,"[119] in February 1878.

Abdülhamid ruled with the Constitution in a state of suspension for thirty years. It will be argued throughout, however, that the principles of the charter had already been legitimated by the mere act of declaration and the Hamidian regime utilized those among them that most suited its own interests. The charter was not abolished, outright, because its utility for the regime could have only been exploited through a skillful manipulation of emphasizing the Constitution's suspended status. The State therefore perpetuated the collective notion of its possibility of reinstitution, upon the emergence of suitable conditions. Despite the Constitution's suspension, however, Abdülhamid could not disregard its citizen guarantees, wholesale and without justification. On one hand, formal constitutionalism and a parliamentary government were novel features for the Ottoman state, in 1876—both being instituted by the absolute sovereign upon accession. Given that they were perceived as the products of his personal beneficence, Abdülhamid could claim assert greater authority in determining their fate, and was afforded the opportunity of exceptional circumstances in suspending the former and proroguing the latter. Much of the structural centralization and socio-legal liberalization initiatives of the Tanzimat, on the other hand, had already been normalized by 1876 and "the sultan did not wish to be the uppermost patron in a patrimonial chain, but rather a unique patrimonial figure, ruling with the help of a rational bureaucracy constrained by laws."[120] In other words, Abdülhamid II inherited most of the reform-era obligations the State owed its new citizenry, and was bound to uphold them.

Whether Abdülhamid II was 'enthusiastic'[121] about constitutional government, *per se*, many of the Constitution's articles that addressed the citizens' fundamental and universal rights (Art. 1 – 26) did not originate with the Constitution. Regarding the universal rights of citizens, the Constitution a re-iterated, collected, and formalized in a single charter many of the guarantees already promised to 'Ottomans' with royal edicts

[118] Midhat Bey, *The Life of Midhat Pasha*, 98.
[119] Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire*, 404.
[120] Şükrü Hanioğlu, "Modern Ottoman period," in Metin Heper and Sabri Sayan eds., *The Routledge Handbook of Modern Turkey* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 21.
[121] Ibid.

on previous occasions. The same held true for the definition of an Ottoman; Article 8 articulated that,

> ... [A]ll individuals who are under the allegiance of the Ottoman state are designated as Ottomans, without exception, irrespective of whichever religion or denomination to which they belong—and the quality of being an Ottoman is acquired and relinquished according to conditions that are determined by law.[122]

With respect to who was an Ottoman, and how this legal identity could be "acquired and relinquished,"[123] the Constitution referred to a law that was external to it. The *Tabiiyet-i Osmaniye Kanunnamesi* (Ottoman Nationality Law) of 1869 had defined who an Ottoman was and stipulated the conditions for naturalization and ejection from the nation in the decade preceding the declaration of the Constitution. Throughout the reign of Abdülhamid II, citizens were made and unmade by adhering to the regulations of the Nationality Law and with the inherent acceptance of the validity of each component of the abovementioned Article 8 in the suspended Constitution.

The Hamidian regime could not rewrite the definition of an Ottoman. The signifier and its signified had already been defined in every rescript addressing the nature of the constituency from the Rose Chamber Edict to the Constitution. The identity of the nation could still be shaped through demographics, however. In the zone of migration and naturalization, the State could not be 'exclusivist;' the law did not allow for that. It could instead influence the demographic composition of the constituency into congruity with its vision and achieve results superficially similar to those of exclusivist policies, through methods of positive discrimination. For this, the Hamidian regime diverted its resources to the official version of the ideology of Ottomanism, through which belonging could be promoted on an extraterritorial platform according to attributes that were propagated as shared between the State and its desired potential members. For better or worse, the timing, duration, circumstances, and nature of Abdülhamid's reign afforded him the opportunity to be the sultan most heavily invested in the construction of an official nationalism and the formation of an Ottoman collectivity of individuals (i.e. a nation) at state level.

Migration, the status of nationals versus foreigners, and the legal particularities of how they could swap identities through naturalization provides an additional lens from which to view the nature of the Hamidian vision for the nation. Of the many factors that set the parameters for national identity formation, that 'an Ottoman' was a neutral

[122] "Kanun-i Esasi," in *Salname-i Devlet-i Aliye-yi Osmaniye: Kırk Yedinci Sene*, 100.
[123] Ibid.

identity was of primary importance—citizenship could thus show no bias for potential-/members. Secondly, waves of inward, outward, individual, and mass migration, compounded with borders and populations that shifted in the process of irredentism begetting nations, altered the demographic features of the Ottoman state. Finally, the State had to negotiate its interests in the face of the unrelenting challenge of not having jurisdiction over a significant minority of foreign/-ized residents within its borders, e.g. Great Power nationals and protégés. This meant that policy was shaped by the will to reduce the number of foreigners living within its domains. This was not, however, synonymous with the State's desire for foreign individuals to vacate the dominions. Rather than pursuing their expulsion, the Hamidian regime's preference seems to have been a reduction in the number of resident foreigners through naturalization. To accommodate all of these concerns, the Hamidian version of nation, national identity, and official state nationalism, as entities and ideologies under-construction, were necessarily dynamic, malleable, and continuously cross-referenced with the legal framework. In the meantime, the definition of a citizen remained conveniently vague and static. What emerges in the liminal stage of the 'foreigner,' specifically in the zone existing between migration and naturalization, is insight into a version of Hamidian Ottomanism as an expansionist nationalism operating in two realms.

In order to evaluate how migration, national ideologies, and institutional rationalization interacted with one another over the course of the Hamidian regime, it is essential to look at the particularities of the Ottoman state's legal framework itself, so far as they pertained to these three factors that affected identity formation in response to migration phenomena. There exists a plethora of persuasive Ottoman modernization theories, and a variety of dates to which the emergence of modernity has been traced. Among them, the one that dates the modernization process to 1808 will be chosen for the evaluation of nation building in relation to migration. Thus this chapter will highlight the concept of nation within the context of a rationalizing Ottoman legal system, and will trace its evolution from the Deed of Agreement through the Constitution. The Deed of Agreement was the first instance in which the Ottoman sultan's power was restricted—his authority was no longer defined primarily by the Islamic precept of being a just, Muslim, ruler. The contract signed between Mahmud II (r. 1808 – 1839) and a fraction of the ruled formed a 'partnership,' thereby elevating the protection of the welfare of the State above other interests. With the theoretical promises of the Rose Chamber Edict, the obligations of the ruled were popularized; it

expanded from being applicable to elite regional power-holders to all subjects. These principles were reiterated in the *Hatt-ı Hümayun/Islahat Fermanı* (Royal Reform Edict) of 1856.

The knitting of the mutual responsibilities of sovereign and subject into the same fabric of the forming nation gradually included the stitches of all who were declared and defined as Ottoman citizens by the Nationality Law. Popularization, later reaffirmed in the Constitution, yet not forestalled by its suspension, was emblematic of the State's intention of becoming a nation. Thus, over the course of six decades in the nineteenth century, the drive to transform the system of rule and the nature and definition of authority from a premodern to a rationalizing one had materialized for the Ottoman state some vital organs and the partial skeleton of modernity. Official Ottoman nationalism, "combin[ed] naturalization with retention of dynastic power, in particular over the huge polyglot domains accumulated since the Middle Ages…stretching the short, tight, skin of the nation over the gigantic body of the empire."[124] In short, the State's preoccupation with building an Ottoman nation made itself evident with the debut of the Nationality Law. The rationalization of the State would continue with future measures, in a state of co-dependency with maintaining the appeal of official nationalism. The most consequential among them was the 1876 Constitution.

Contractual Relationships: the Transformation of 'Subjects into Citizens'

Similar to many other states, the 'long nineteenth century' began for the Ottomans with more turbulence and uncertainty than it ended. In the aftermath of existential challenges that had severely threatened the State's territorial integrity from within and without, the House of Osman, too, had to quickly come to terms with a "legitimacy crisis,"[125] that rippled through states and societies on a global level. The French Revolution of 1789 may have become symbol of this change, but it was not unique, as

> ...[p]rotests of a similar nature featured in other European countries governed in absolutist style. The parallels between the preconditions, the foci of protest, and the effects of unrest thus support the validity of depictions of the 1789 – 1848 period as a continental, rather than essentially "French," Age of Revolution.[126]

[124] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 86.
[125] Deringil, *Well-Protected Domains*, 8.
[126] Fred Anscombe, "The Balkan Revolutionary Age," *The Journal of Modern History*: 84, no. 3 (September 2012), 573.

While 'the Age of Revolution' swept the 'continent,' both its un-bordered impetuses and manifestations reached still beyond it. Other successful revolutions that attest to a radical universal shift in the dynamics of authority and power by the advent of the nineteenth century—that further de-exceptionalize Marianne—were the American (1775–1783), Haitian (1791–1804), and Liège (1789–1791); among the unsuccessful were the Peruvian (1780–1782) and Irish (1798). In addition to organized civil rebellions and armed uprisings that sought independence from existing authority, the turn of the century was characterized by the demands of 'the masses' for a change in their collective circumstances and accountability (e.g. peasant revolts under the Chinese Qing and Romanov dynasties). In this global climate, the House of Osman—a house divided by with internal feuds—entered this precarious 'Age' with stark new realities.

As the eighteenth century was coming to a close and the nineteenth beginning, the Ottoman state had to reckon with internal challenges and external competition, both of which undermined the State's right to rule over its territorial domains and its subject population. The stock examples for the external threats that challenged the state are Napoleon's invasion of Egypt and Syria (1798—1801) and the two Russo-Turkish Wars (1768–1774 and 1787–1792), which "ending in defeat for the Ottomans, undermined considerably the authority of the central government."[127] The consequences were material and immaterial, e.g. aside from dealing the Ottomans major territorial and economic setbacks, the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca (1774) allowed the Tsar to emerge as the protector of the sultan's Orthodox Christian subjects. Mehmed Ali Paşa, the *vali* (governor) of Egypt, came to symbolize the greatest concession of Ottoman authority in the domestic sphere—a pragmatic one, since he was soon after used by the State to (momentarily) defeat another internal threat: the first Saud-Wahhab campaign to capture the Holy cities of the Arabian Peninsula (1802—1818). Other frequently referenced challenges arose in regions where groups such as local notables (*ayans* and *derebeys*) or janissaries had been able to foster legitimacy on their own accord over a century of decentralized administration, or where discontent with the corruption and injustice of the government or its representatives found expression in unrest, demonstration, and dissent (e.g. local militia uprisings against the janissaries of Belgrade, in 1804).[128]

[127] Karpat, "The Transformation of the Ottoman State, 1789–1908," in *Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History: Selected Articles and Essays* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 35.
[128] Anscombe, "The Balkan Revolutionary Age," 578.

The nineteenth-century challenges to the Ottoman state and its authority were not novel,[129] neither was their simultaneity. Instead, novelty laid in the manner in which the State responded to them. The State's engagement in a field of contest against its own provincial representatives who had accrued power over the course of decentralized decades obviated a bitter revelation. Not for the first time, it demonstrated that the State's agents had been able to develop an independent power base by sustaining the legitimacy of their own local authority. Their interests were not by default aligned with those of the State; in fact, more often than not, they benefited from the decentralized *status quo*, at the expense of the State. Thus when the State took initiatives to adapt and change to protect its welfare, it found itself challenged by a number of formidable opponents acting out of self-interest. The methods of suppression or bribery that had been resorted to in previous centuries (e.g. the Celali Revolts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) were neither sufficient nor reliable any longer. Following the deposition of yet another sultan, i.e. "[t]he janissary-*ulema* revolt which ended Selim III's rule in 1807,"[130] which demonstrated the apparent incompatibility between the interest of the State and the authority of local power-holders, the early nineteenth century witnessed the introduction of a new solution to an old Ottoman problem: it sought to forge a 'partnership' to protect the State's welfare, and thus shared power.

The Deed of Agreement was the document that inaugurated the process of the Ottoman state's institutional rationalization and centralization. The treaty "marked a turning-point in Ottoman history."[131] Specifically, in the aftermath of Selim III's deposition—itself a consequence of conflicting interests between the State's reformist drive and the resistance of those threatened by its fulfillment—his successor, Sultan Mahmud II, resolved to issue an accord that ultimately tied to the State the interests of those with whom he competed for power. The coalition between the center and provincial leaders was part of a "partnership"[132] initiative to "convert disunity into unity."[133] Thenceforth, with each social contract that followed, the numbers of the

[129] With the exception of the nature of Napoleon's Egyptian campaign, which has been described by Edward Said to be the instigator of modern imperialism, see Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1979).
[130] Kemal H. Karpat, "The Social and Economic Transformation of Istanbul in the Nineteenth Century," in *Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History*, 253.
[131] Ali Akyıldız and Şükrü Hanioğlu, "Negotiating the power of the sultan: the Ottoman Sened-i İttifak (Deed of Agreement), 1808," in Amin, Fortna, and Frierson eds., *The Modern Middle East*, 23.
[132] Yaycıoğlu, "Sened-i İttifak."
[133] Ibid., 670.

sultan's subjects shrank in proportion to the growth of his 'partners'—at least in the texts he claimed to be accountable to.

Contractually folding the Ottoman dynasty's competitor's interests into the interest of the State continued to grow with the Rose Chamber and Reform Edicts. The former symbolically germinated Ottomanism as a proto-nationalist discourse with the proliferation of those who became invested 'Ottomans.' The three subsequent decades witnessed the evolution of the proto-nationalism into a legitimate, expansionist, and official nationalism. The signifier had taken a departure from designating an individual who, as it was understood in the eighteenth century, "served the Ottoman state as a member of the ruling elite or *askeri* class, in return for which he received an income from the Sultan and was granted certain tax privileges."[134] With the Rose Chamber Edict, the essential nature of the 'Ottoman' identification had been remolded from being a designation for the elite to one that was granted—in theory—to all who owed allegiance to the sultan. As a proto-nationalist vision that emerged in response to both internal *and* external pressures,[135] it promised equal protection and guaranteed life, property, and honor to the theretofore-unequal proto-citizenry it swiftly and sweepingly adopted. The subsequent landmark on the trail of Ottomanism's evolution as an official doctrine, the 1856 Reform, patented the rationalization of Ottoman legal discourse and thereby directly challenged what the State had previously built its legitimacy on. It *also* "marked a new era: that of the secularization of law."[136] Expressly, while the Rose Chamber Edict "did not alter the Islamic basis of the State, as the *Hatt-ı Hümayun* of 1856 and certain ensuing measures, did."[137] The maintenance of the territorial integrity of the State necessitated the legal assimilation and uniformity of the populace.

The House of Osman's nineteenth century initiative to form partners out of subjects confronted externally sourced obstacles. The protection offered by Great Powers to those born under the allegiance of the sultan and irredentist nationalisms, for example, were among the greatest challenges to the territorial integrity and domestic cohesion of the Ottoman state. The overcome such barriers to the maintenance of its hegemony, the

[134] Fatih Yeşil, "How to be(come) an Ottoman at the End of the Eighteenth Century," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, XLIV (2014), 124.
[135] Butrus Abu-Manneh, "Islamic Roots of the Gülhane Rescript," *Die Welt des Islams* 34, no. 2 (1994), 176-181, 99-100.
[136] Choucri Cardahi, "La Conception et la pratique du droit international privé dans l'Islam," 532.
[137] Butrus Abu-Manneh, "Two Concepts of State in the Tanzimat Period: the Hatt-ı Şerif of Gülhane and the Hatt-ı Hümayun," *Turkish Historical Review* 6 (2015), 128.

State had to conceptualize the nation-under-formation in a manner that would counter domestic foreignization by legally equalizing and making uniform the constituency, which made methods of inclusion the necessary course of action. The transformation of the 'Islamic basis of the State' therefore persisted when the Ottoman Nationality Law branded neo-citizens as 'Ottomans' on an individual basis—neutral in race and creed—thus giving them an equal stake in the welfare of the new nation through personal affiliation in a collective popular and political identity. The State admitted duties to them in exchange. The Constitution both reiterated and thus further solidified the state's existing guarantees to citizens and made new promises (e.g. representative government).

The 1869 Ottoman Nationality Law in a Comparative Perspective

It is necessary to briefly discuss how Ottomans are conceptualized for the era that preceded the establishment of the State's formal definition of the identity in the nineteenth century, in order to see the level of congruency between our understandings of who an Ottoman was in relation to who the State's. This is significant in light of migration, as preconceived notions of who constituted a natural member of the Ottoman constituency can influence interpretations of exclusivism *versus* inclusivism when considering migrants, as it can gear inquiry to evaluate the State's relations with those migrants according to particularized attributions. In Hamidian-era policies, this has revealed itself in the placement of overwhelming focus on religious affiliation. As will be made evident, who the State allowed to adopt or repudiate its national identity had little to do with such attributes on the legal-institutional (versus ideological) level.

Maurits H. van den Boogert has aptly referred to what can be considered the pre-rational sentiment of an Ottoman collectivity as "Ottomanism *avant la lettre.*"[138] In defining "*homo ottomanicus,*"[139] Van den Boogert evaluates the features of Ottoman identity in terms of 'constants' and 'variables.' The most significant of the former are birthplace; language, affiliation, and taxation.[140] Rejecting the notion that '*homo ottomanicus*' emerged simultaneously with 'the Ottoman citizen,'[141] Van den Boogert insists that the "archetypal Ottoman" did not "live in any particular period."[142] He

[138] Martin H. van den Boogert, "Resurrecting *Homo Ottomanicus*: The Constants and Variables of Ottoman Identity," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, XLIV (2014), 11.
[139] Ibid.
[140] Ibid., 12f, 18.
[141] Ibid., 12.
[142] Ibid., 11.

therefore establishes era as a variable, along with race, "profession, habitat, even gender."[143] These features of an Ottoman align with retrospective conceptualizations of who has come to be considered an Ottoman, in a post-citizen world, despite their transplant to a time when the state did not in fact consider its subjects as 'Ottomans.' Nevertheless, individuals exhibiting Van den Boogert's constants were adopted by the state in the nineteenth century. Thus, whether they were considered as such prior to the advent of an 'Ottoman citizen' or not, there is coherence with his "Ottomanism *avant la lettre*' and official Ottomanism, which made its debut with the Rose Chamber Edict and spanned through the 'end of empire.' What Van den Boogert describes, however, is, precisely, who was conjured by (inclusive) variations of Ottomanism—as an ideology. In other words, while a conceptual Ottoman may have exhibited the aforementioned constants, it was only one among them that had the *potential* (rather than guarantee) of making a legal Ottoman: place of birth. In the age of citizenship descent (from an Ottoman) was the *only* 'constant' that made an individual a natural-born Ottoman.

The Ottoman Nationality Law articulated the official and universally accessible requisites of being and becoming an Ottoman in nine articles, from five perspectives. The Law based natural-born citizenship on the principle of *jus sanguinis* (hereditary, right of blood) and also gave access to membership based on *jus soli* (right of the soil).[144] The incorporation of both principles reduced the odds of conflicting nationality laws producing stateless Ottomans.[145] The first article of the Nationality Law considered those who were born to Ottoman parents (or, an Ottoman father) to be a citizen of the "Exalted State,"[146] the second gave access to membership within three years of reaching majority if born in the territories, and the ninth reserved for the government the right to assume, by default, the Ottoman nationality of those whose residence was within the sultan's protected dominions (*memalik-i mahruse-yi Padişah)*;

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[143] van den Boogert, "Resurrecting *Homo Ottomanicus*, 11-13.

[144] For a discussion of the incorporation of these two principles in the Ottoman Nationality Law, see, among others, Campos, *Ottoman Brothers*, 61, Kern, *Imperial Citizen*, 16, Nazan Maksudyan, *Orphans and Destitute Children in the Late Ottoman Empire* (New York: Syracuse UP, 2014), 44, and Mutaz M. Qafisheh, *The International Law Foundations of Palestinian Nationality: A Legal Examination of Nationality in Palestine under Britain's Rule* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2008), 29.

[145] For examples of statelessness due to the non-mutual-exclusivity of *jus soil* and *jus sanguinis*, see William Samore, "Statelessness as a Consequence of Conflict of Nationality Laws," *The American Journal of International Law* 45, no: 3 (July 1951): 476 – 494.

[146] *Tabiiyet-i Osmaniye Kanunnamesidir*, Atatürk Kitaplığı Belediye Osmanlı Kitaplığı: 0.3261. 5 Kanun-i Evvel 1289 (17 December 1873).

it was the responsibility of the individual to prove their non-Ottoman nationality.[147] The third and fourth articles articulated how to acquire Ottoman nationality for those who were not born in the dominions, while the fifth and sixth concerned how to *un*-become an Ottoman.[148] The seventh article stipulated how women who had lost their nationality due to the dependent citizenship clauses of the nationality laws of their husbands' states could *re*-become Ottomans upon the dissolution of the marriage, and the eighth article specified the cases in which hereditary nationality did not apply.[149] The House of Osman's claim to generic citizens was based upon the notion that the individual and the State descended from the same territorial root. Accordingly, an Ottoman national was static and loaded with ambiguities when it came to the 'constants' of the individual. In fact, the only constant was that s/he was an Ottoman. The ambiguity of Ottomanness allowed for the state to pursue expansionist policies and to seek new members for its constituency.

The process of foreigners becoming Ottomans was straightforward. If one was born within the Ottoman territories, one could to petition to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to become an Ottoman within three years of reaching majority (Art. 2); if born elsewhere, one had to meet a five year residency requirement (Art.3).[150] The State could additionally confer Ottoman nationality to exceptional individuals, for whom the aforementioned requirements did not apply (Art. 4).[151] If one applied without meeting the minimum residency conditions, their appeal would be rejected on that basis.[152] The State does not seem to have expelled those whose application was rejected because they had not met the number of requisite years within the dominions. Neither does immigration seem to have been strictly regulated, since there were those who were resident for thirty years before applying for citizenship.[153] Furthermore, the evidence suggests that those who met the conditions and applied for naturalization on the basis of the third article of the Nationality Law were granted citizenship, regardless of any ethno-religious or home state considerations over the course of the Hamidian years.

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[147] *Tabiiyet-i Osmaniye Kanunnamesidir*.
[148] Ibid.
[149] Ibid.
[150] Ibid.
[151] Ibid.
[152] E.g. BOA.DH.MKT.496/22 (26 Muharrem 1320/5 May 1902), BOA.DH.MKT.2697/53 (6 Zilhicce 1326/30 December 1908), BOA.DH.SN.THR.14/16 (13 Zilkade 1328/16 November 1910), and BOA.DH.EUM.ECB.5/41 (14 Ramazan 1334/15 July 1916).
[153] BOA.TFR.I.KV.59/5880 (19 Safer 1322/5 May 1904).

The Ottoman Nationality Law and official state nationalism under the reign of Abdülhamid II have been evaluated as 'exclusivist.'[154] Exclusivism has not only been assigned to the regime's discourse and policies, but also the actual articles of the nationality law (that pre-dated the accession of Abdülhamid). 'Exclusivist' nationalism is often discussed in the context of states that are characterized in ethno-religiously hegemonic terms.[155] Understanding the nature of the State, i.e. whether it is an 'ethnohegemony' or 'accommodationist,' is crucial, since

> ...[o]ne of the most important aspects to examine in any political system, a sort of litmus test for the classification of a polity, is whether it allows members of a minority within it *dual identity* amounting to full acceptance by the larger political community as well as within their own particular ethnic community.[156]

Accordingly, the presence of exclusivism in the State's policies over the course of the Hamidian regime is interrelated to whether or not the Ottoman state permitted "members of a minority within it *dual identity*." The Hamidian system's 'classification' thus becomes even more significant in light of the fact that 'dual identities' in the Ottoman constituency, also during the Hamidian era, are almost a given. While the 'exclusivist' premise about the nature of the Ottoman state gears complimentary interpretations for its actions, e.g. attempting to shed light on some violent ones undertaken by the State at given junctures, it can also be taken for granted.

It is reasonable to assume that an 'exclusivist' state is more likely to promote 'exclusionary' policies, which, compared to 'assimilationist' and 'accommodationist' nationalisms,[157] "are the most violent."[158] In the analysis of a given state's level of exclusivism, the definition of nation-/al are often conflated with official state nationalism (which is harder to define). The danger in this union is to miss the nuances

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[154] See, for example, Deringil, *Well-Protected Domains.*
[155] Ilan Peleg, *Democratizing the Hegemonic State: Political Transformation in the Age of Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007), 80.
[156] Ibid., 80.
[157] See Harris Mylonas, "Assimilation and its Alternatives: Caveats in the Study of Nation-building Policies," in Erica Chenoweth and Adria Lawrence eds., *Rethinking Violence: States and Non-State Actors in Conflict* (London: The MIT Press, 2010): 83 – 116; in short, whereas an accommodationist state allows for a particularized treatment of non-core members of the constituency (e.g. "minority rights"), an assimilationist state aims policy to "get the non-core group to adopt the core group's culture and way of life;" a policy of 'exclusion' entails the "physical removal" of some non-core members of the constituency (i.e. "through population exchange, deportation, or mass killing." It is assumed here that a legally assimilationist state promotes nation-formation and unity within the collectivity of individuals more successfully than an accommodationist state, e.g. 'separate but equal' violates the guarantee of equal protection by law (e.g. *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1896).
[158] Mylonas, "Assimilation and its Alternatives," 85.

of their operations, on different realms with differing degrees of malleability and independent capacities. While the two can reinforce each other, they can as easily contradict one another. Though the domestic and international politics of an era can only be understood if approached holistically, it is useful to sometimes take things apart and study various components in their own right—from a comparative perspective—before putting them back together and in their original context, again. The legal definition of nation-/al needs to be analyzed independently in order to determine the parameters in which the Hamidian regime was operating as it constructed its official nationalism. In other words, a state can pursue assimilationist, accommodationist, exclusivist, or exclusionary policies despite operating within the rational framework of an egalitarian civic nation. In his astute scholarship on the legitimation of power over the course of the Hamidian years, Selim Deringil has stated that an

> ... 'exclusivist' tone is apparent in the very 'Law on Ottoman Nationality' (19 January 1869), which states in Article 8: The children of one who has died or has abandoned Ottoman nationality, even if they are minors, are not considered to be the same nationality as their father and continue to be Ottoman subjects. (However) the children of a foreigner who has taken Ottoman nationality, even if they are minors, will not be considered the same nationality as their fathers and will be considered as foreigners.'[159]

Michelle Campos has built upon Deringil's argument of exclusivism by asserting that "several contradictory factors seem to have driven the Ottoman citizenship law."[160] She argues that,

> ... the Ottoman citizenship law was not broadly pan-Islamic, for at the same time citizenship also aimed to further mark the border between Ottoman and non-Ottoman Muslims, playing a particularly important role in the eastern frontier of the empire with Qajar Iran.[161]

In other words, the Nationality Law needed to emphasize the distinctness of those living on each side of the Ottoman-Qajar border and bordered the *umma* along national lines. In the vein of Campos' argument, it can be assumed that "the Ottoman state did not simply want to expand its Muslim population at any cost, and treated some groups of foreign Muslims with suspicion and distance."[162] While this is certainly true, the lingering question is to what extent Islam was the determining factor in the treatment of these groups. Whether the State sought their assimilation, accommodation, or exclusion could help answer this question.

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[159] Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains*, 55, 197 n.61.
[160] Campos, *Ottoman Brothers,* 62.
[161] Ibid.
[162] Ibid.

The Ottoman state was not pan-Islamist. Campos and Deringil are among those whose works have helped establish two important features of the late-Ottoman state. It sought the political assimilation of indigenous non-Muslims through their inclusion into the citizenry; and it constructed a dominant *quasi*-national Islam through the imposition of Hanefization and Ottomanization—processes that were certainly not concealed over the course of the Hamidian period. While the non-Pan-Islamist arguments are accepted, what struggles in the face of scrutiny is the role allotted to the actual Nationality Law within these policies and formulations. The nationality law was "not broadly pan-Islamist."[163] Neither was it exclusivist in any capacity beyond privileging generic Ottomans. Its mode of defining citizens was even contrary to former understandings of jurisprudence and their interpretation by generations of Ottoman 'men of the pen.' Throughout the history of the Ottoman state, legal theory and practice consisted of "systems and interpretations of Islamic law...they were all—usually and explicitly—situated within the realm of *fikh* (Islamic jurisprudence), and believed to be in conformity with the *şeriat* (religious law/Sharia)."[164] The Nationality Law, on the other hand, made absolutely no reference to Islam, its remits, or its *umma*. Thus Ottoman nationality, and the law that defined it, was not even particularly Islamic. A legal 'Ottoman' was by necessity an otherwise ethno-religiously neutral political individual.

The organic nationality laws of the nineteenth century legitimized the means by which common/customary law had previously claimed allegiance: *jus solis* and *jus sanguinis*. Sometimes they included a combination of both.[165] As previously mentioned, the Ottoman Nationality Law employed both by claiming individuals born to Ottoman parents as Ottomans (Art. 1)[166] and entitling those who were born within the dominions a right to membership (Art. 3).[167] To recapitulate, the law stipulated that the State considered all within its political borders to be Ottomans, until proven otherwise (Art. 9).[168] Exceptions to hereditary nationality that have been used to support the assertion that the law was exclusivist concerned the offspring of those who had taken up another state's nationality and had thereby lost their Ottoman one—in this case the children

[163] Campos, *Ottoman Brothers,* 62.
[164] Ruth Miller, "The Legal History of the Ottoman Empire," *History Compass* 6, no. 1 (2008), 288.
[165] Panama declared all born within its territories Panaman (regardless of parents' nationality) and gave the right to claim nationality to all born abroad to Panaman parents. See, "Panama" in Flournoy and Hudson, *A Collection of Nationality Laws of Various Countries,* 458.
[166] *Tabiiyet-i Osmaniye Kanunnamesidir*.
[167] Ibid.
[168] Ibid.

remained Ottomans—the offspring of naturalized Ottomans would, in turn, have remained foreign (Art. 8).[169] Article 8 is, indeed, a relative anomaly in that it presents a variance from the norms of Great Power nationality laws that extended the altered national status of a man to his wife and children, i.e. 'dependent citizenship.'

The implementation of the eighth article of the Nationality Law did not curtail the demographic growth of non-natural-born Ottomans, especially with respect to those who would have seemed to challenge the Hamidian regime's presumed preference for Hanefi-Sunni-Ottoman exclusivism. If, for example, a married man who had one child was a national of state *x* and adopted the allegiance of state *GP*, and state *GP's* nationality law enforced dependent citizenship, then state *GP* would automatically assume the nationality of all three individuals. The Ottoman Law did not comply with this. If the same individual became an Ottoman citizen, his child would remain a *GP* national. The status of his wife was not mentioned in the Ottoman Nationality Law. If the individual who had adopted *GP* nationality was, instead, a natural-born Ottoman, then, according to the Ottoman Law, his child was still considered an Ottoman, despite the fact that *GP* had adopted him/her. While the Ottoman law still did not stipulate the status of his wife, she would, again, be considered a *GP* national according to the dependent citizenship clause of *GP* law. On the face of it, the Ottoman set of regulations appears as though the Ottoman state resisted adopting the children of naturalized Ottomans. By the same token however, it refused to eject from its nation the children of natural-born Ottomans who are naturalized by other states. The Ottoman Nationality Law therefore gave priority to natural-born Ottomans. The religion or race of these Ottomans, however, has little to do with this preferential treatment, particularly since those who would have adopted foreign nationality in this period—along with their children—were more likely to be non-Hanefi-Sunni Muslims. And while the same law did not adopt the children of naturalized Ottomans, they would still be allowed to claim nationality on their own accord after five years of residence. Natural-born status was hereditary, but joining and leaving the Ottoman nation was more the prerogative of the individual rather than a family affair. The State did not reject the membership claims of those who had not expatriated themselves out of their own will. By this means, the number of Ottomans and their potential descendants was maximized. Given that being an Ottoman had no defined features other than being a member of the Ottoman state,

[169] *Tabiiyet-i Osmaniye Kanunnamesidir*.

whether the promotion of the hereditary aspect of nationality was a symptom of exclusivism will be debated in subsequent chapters.

The Ottoman Nationality Law defined natural-born citizens in a manner similar to the Great Powers (aside from some hereditary aspects). The legal articulation of the quality of being a natural-born British subject began in 1350, with "[a] Statute for those who are born in Parts beyond Sea."[170] By the advent of the Hamidian era, those born within the dominions or beyond them to natural-born fathers were considered natural-born Britons, along with those born on British ships (4 & 5 Geo. V, Ch. 17, Art. 1—a, b, and c).[171] Naturalization by certificate became possible with the Aliens Act of 1844—"prior to this act, nationality could be obtained only by special acts of Parliament or by letters of denization."[172] The 1870 Naturalization Act further specified regulations for naturalization and was later supplemented by the Aliens Act of 1905. The former (Arts. 4 and 6) also allowed subjects to become expatriates through "a declaration of alienage."[173] The Austrian Code of 1811—which defined nationals as the political possession of the political Austrian state, who were subject to its law—declared that nationality "belongs by birth to the children of all Austrian citizens ... place of birth had no effect on nationality" (Art. 28).[174] In conjunction with the "principle of reciprocity" with Austria,[175] Hungary enacted its own legislation in 1879. It claimed the legitimate children of Hungarian men, the illegitimate children of Hungarian women (Art. 2), and the legitimated-illegitimate children of Hungarian men with foreign women (Art. 3).[176] Dependent citizenship translated into Hungarian nationality being extended to foreign wives (and offspring) of natural-born *and* naturalized Hungarians (Arts. 5 and 7).[177] Similar to the Ottoman Law, Article 19 entitled the State to assume the nationality of

[170] H.S.Q. Henriques, *The Law of Aliens and Naturalization including the text of Aliens Act, 1905* (London: Butterworth & Co., 1906), 167.
[171] "The Act to Consolidate and Amend the Enactments Relating to British Nationality and the Status of Aliens," *4 & 5 Geo. V, Ch. 17* (7 August 1914).
[172] "British Empire: Great Britain and Northern Ireland," in Flournoy and Hudson, *A Collection of Nationality Laws of Various Countries*, 59.
[173] "Naturalization Act, 1870 (33 & 34 Vict. c. 14)," in Henriques, *The Law of Aliens and Naturalization,* 173.
[174] "Austria," in Flournoy and Hudson, *A Collection of Nationality Laws*, 14. The code was supplemented by additional measures, e.g. 1832, 1833, 1849, 1853, 1860, 1867, 1896, *etc.*
[175] "Hungary," in Flournoy and Hudson, *A Collection of Nationality Laws*, 340. The principle of reciprocity is mentioned in Art. 23 of the Hungarian Nationality Law.
[176] Ibid., 337.
[177] "Hungary," in Flournoy and Hudson, *A Collection of Nationality Laws*, 337.

those either born or "foundlings found in Hungarian territory and educated there"[178]—until proven otherwise.

Foreigners had to meet various conditions in order to become Great Power nationals. The most basic of the requisites was a minimum residency for a number of years. The Ottoman Nationality Law required five years of residency, and did not articulate additional conditions. According to the 1853 and 1896 Austrian legislation, individuals had to meet ten years of continuous, voluntary, retrospective residence (with exceptions, e.g. military service);[179] over the course of this time, the applicant could not have "become a public charge."[180] Acquiring Hungarian nationality was not solely dependent on duration of residence either.[181] After five years of residence, "naturalization papers ...[were]...given only to persons"[182] who were legally competent or had a representative (Art. 8.1), were (or were expected to be) registered as residents of a municipality (Art. 8.2), were financially self-sufficient and could meet "the standards of living in their place of residence" (Art. 8.5),[183] and, with exceptions, had "been listed as a taxpayer for five years" (Art. 8.6).[184] It required the individual in question to be "of good character" (Art. 8.4), to which no exceptions were articulated.[185] Similar to the Ottoman Law, the Hungarian Crown reserved the right to recommend individuals who did not meet the articulated conditions.[186] If approved, the applicant was required to take an oath of allegiance within a year.[187]

Late nineteenth and early twentieth century supplements to the nationality laws of some Great Power increased requirements for applicants, making the path to citizenship narrower. The British Aliens Act of 1905 that supplemented the 1870 Naturalization Act is a good example. The requisite time of residence for applicants desiring to become naturalized Britons was the same five years as the Ottoman and Hungarian—the latter required additional evidence of intention to either live in the dominions or, if abroad, to

[178] "Hungary," in Flournoy and Hudson, *A Collection of Nationality Laws*, 339.
[179] "Austria," in Flournoy and Hudson, *A Collection of Nationality Laws*,15.
[180] Ibid.,16. Tax exemptions for school, stipends, and temporary reliefs were not considered public charges.
[181] "Hungary," in Flournoy and Hudson, *A Collection of Nationality Laws*, 338.
[182] Ibid., 337.
[183] Ibid., 338.
[184] Ibid.
[185] Ibid.
[186] Ibid., 339. Exceptions were the second, third, and sixth conditions stipulated in Art. 8.
[187] Ibid. Failure to meet this condition nullified the certificate of naturalization (Art. 16).

serve the Crown (Art. 7).[188] In the British case, if an applicant met the requirements, admission to membership became depended on the Secretary of State, who was entitled to deem whether the applicant's legal assimilation was "conducive to the public good" (Art. 7).[189] The Aliens Act of 1905 limited the ability of some individuals to achieve the requisite five-year residence, however, since it granted government agents "*the power to prevent the landing of undesirable immigrants*."[190] Article 1 defined undesirables:

> a. if he cannot show that he has in his possession or is in a position to obtain a means of decently supporting himself and his dependents (if any); or
> b. if he is a lunatic or idiot, or owing to any disease or infirmity appears likely to become a charge upon the rates or otherwise a detriment to the public; or
> c. if he has been sentenced in a foreign country with which there is an extradition treaty for a crime, not being an offence of a political character ... ; or
> d. if an expulsion order under this Act has been made in his case ...[191]

The abovementioned grounds for being considered 'undesirable' were in overlooked in specific cases. An individuals could not be denied landing on account of not being financially self-sufficient or potentially incurring the State a cost, provided, for example, that arrival was motivated by the will to

> ... avoid prosecution or punishment on religious or political grounds or for an offense of a political character, or persecution, involving danger of imprisonment or danger to life or limb, on account of religious belief,[192]

While the British government could champion itself as the protector of the freedom of conscience, the Aliens Act did condone expelling resident undesirables.[193] Article 4 declared that in the event of the expulsion of such undesirables,

> ...the Secretary of State may, if he thinks fit, pay the whole or any part of the expenses of or incidental to the departure from the United Kingdom and maintenance until departure of the alien and his dependents (if any).[194]

As of 1905, the British Crown was willing to bear the financial burden to protect its population from the potential legal assimilation of immigrants it deemed undesirable. Additionally, it specified conditions for the expatriation of natural-born citizens.

States maintain(ed) the power to impose involuntary expatriation. Aside from being naturalized by or taking up arms for another state, however, few nationality laws

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[188] "Naturalization Act, 1870 (33 & 34 Vict. c. 14)" in Henriques, *The Law of Aliens and Naturalization,* 174.
[189] Ibid.
[190] "Aliens Act, 1905 (5 EDW. 7, c.13)," in Henriques, *The Law of Aliens and Naturalization*, 185.
[191] Ibid.
[192] Ibid., 185-6.
[193] Ibid., 187. Undesirables are further specified in Art. 3 of the same law.
[194] Ibid.

articulated specifically any other means by which such a circumstance could transpire. These were the exact means by which the Ottoman nation imposed involuntary expatriation. In the event that an individual was involuntarily expatriated, they were forbidden from returning to the sultan's dominions (Art. 6).[195] According to Hungarian Law, one could also lose their citizenship if they were "absent uninterruptedly from the territory of Hungary for more than ten years without the authorization of a Hungarian Cabinet Minister or of an Austro-Hungarian Minister."[196] Involuntary expatriation also occurred in less direct ways, however. Dependent citizenship allowed states to eject natural-born women who married foreigners from the nation by imposing on them alternate allegiances.

Women who married foreign nationals in the nineteenth century were simultaneously faced with ensuring the likelihood of losing their natural-born citizenship. In the case that the state of their natural-born allegiance enforced dependent citizenship, the woman in question was more than likely to be ejected from her state and, in many cases (though not exclusively), adopted by her husband's. This practice had no precedence in the European legal framework prior to the nineteenth century. Among the Great Powers, the French Civil Code of 1804 was the first to institute the annulment of citizenship for women (Arts. 12 and 19).[197] Despite the fact that allegiance to the British Crown had been determined a hereditary duty/right since the 1350—52 Act of Edw. III (St. 2)—a woman's status had never been legally articulated to be dispensable until the 1844.[198] The British law was still not quite as severe as the French, however; even in 1844 British law only referred to the nationality of a woman who had married a natural-born Briton. According to its conditions, the union entailed her being a naturalized Briton.[199]

The British Nationalization Act of 1870 discarded, for the first time, the natural-born rights of a woman who married a foreigner. She was thence "the subject of the State of which her husband is" (Art. 10.1).[200] Subsequently, for the duration of her matrimony, she did not exist for the State; "married women were included in the list of persons under a disability who could not exercise the right to naturalization, being equal

[195] *Tabiiyet-i Osmaniye Kanunnamesidir*.
[196] "Hungary," in Flournoy and Hudson, *A Collection of Nationality Laws*, pp. 340—341.
[197] "France," in Ibid., 241.
[198] "British Empire: Great Britain and Northern Ireland," in Ibid., 59.
[199] Ibid.
[200] "Naturalization Act, 1870. (33&34 VICT. C.14)," in Henriques, *The Law of Aliens and Naturalization*, pp. 175-6.

in status to infants, lunatics, and idiots."[201] In short, she became an undesirable. If her husband should die, a formerly (natural-born) British woman had recourse to Article 10.2, which "deemed [her] to be a statutory alien."[202] Article 8 permitted statutory aliens to apply for re-admission "on performing the same conditions and adducing the same evidence as is required in the case of an alien applying for a certificate of nationality."[203] Other Great Power states had similar conditions, some predating the British. Austria's Imperial Patent of 24 March 1832 ensured that women marrying foreigners lost their nationality—"there was no other way of expatriation except with government authorization."[204] Austria's dependent citizenship remained in force for women well into the twentieth century but was slightly altered by Paragraph 8 of the 1925 Law to minimize the possibility of her being stateless. Therefore the supplement stipulated the woman's nationality was with her marriage to a foreign national, "so long it is proved that she acquires by this marriage the citizenship of her husband's state."[205] The 1925 law further stated a woman would automatically lose her nationality if her husband lost his (Par. 9.2)[206]—this did have precedence in the legal framework of the nineteenth century. In addition to losing their nationality upon marriage, natural-born women were also often affected by changes in their husbands' status.

The nationality laws of most states dictated the status of a married woman according to her husband's. Essentially, he had been granted the formal and explicit agency to impact the nationality of the whole family unit. Whether a married man's change of nationality was voluntary or involuntary, his new status also generally affected his wife and children, "in accepting that women would lose their citizenship upon marriage, nations determined women's citizenship rights in the service of the requirements of geopolitical concerns."[207] According to Hungarian law, if a man was 'released' from citizenship upon request, his status was extended to his wife and

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[201] M. Page Baldwin, "Subject to Empire: Married Women and the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act," *Journal of British Studies* 40, no. 4 (2001), 526. According to Article 17 of the 1870 Act, "'Disability' shall mean the status of being an infant, lunatic, idiot, or married woman'," see "Naturalization Act, 1870 (33 & 34 Vict. c. 14)" in Henriques, *The Law of Aliens and Naturalization*, 178.
[202] "Naturalization Act, 1870. (33&34 VICT. C.14)," in Henriques, *The Law of Aliens and Naturalization*, pp. 175-6.
[203] Ibid.
[204] "Austria," in Flournoy and Hudson, *A Collection of Nationality Laws*, 14.
[205] Ibid., 19.
[206] Ibid.
[207] Kern, "Rethinking Ottoman Frontier Policies," 12.

children (Art. 26 and 32),[208] and all 'released' individuals were required to leave Hungarian territory within a year of the certificate being issued.[209] If a woman had attained citizenship because of her marriage to a Hungarian national, she could keep her naturalized status in the case divorce or his death (Art. 35),[210] and a Hungarian woman whose nationality had been annulled could resume "Hungarian citizenship ... if the marriage has been annulled by the proper authorities."[211] A woman who lost her citizenship by marrying a foreigner or by extension of her husband's status, could "on her petition be reinstated into Hungarian citizenship, if judicially separated, legally divorced from her husband or upon the death of her husband, or if she has obtained city rights"[212] (Art. 41). If her husband has been released due to in-/voluntary expatriation (e.g. 'absence' or 'release'), the woman was protected only if the marriage was dissolved.

The Ottoman Nationality Law did not impose dependent citizenship on women. It did, however, offer post-marriage women who had been affected by other states' nationality laws recourse to their natural-born, Ottoman, status. They could reclaim their citizenship by petition within three years of the death of their husbands (Art. 7). The mere existence of Article 7 indicates that the Ottoman law "accepted the standard of dependent citizenship."[213] But it did not enforce this standard. Unlike the European standard, Ottoman Law did not actually specifically articulate that a woman would lose her nationality if she married a foreigner or that the naturalization of a husband would automatically be extended to the wife and children. In fact, the Ottoman state only addressed, in detail, the national status of a very particular set of Ottomans. And this was not through the Nationality Law, but a supplemental measure; "the only exception to the standard of 'dependent' citizenship was enacted on 7 October 1874 as the 'Law Protecting the Prohibition of Marriages between Iranians and Ottoman Citizens'."[214] The women who violated the prohibition and married Iranian men remained Ottomans, and their national status was extended to their illegal offspring.[215]

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[208] "Hungary," in Flournoy and Hudson, *A Collection of Nationality Laws*, 340f.
[209] Ibid.
[210] Ibid., 341.
[211] Ibid.
[212] Ibid., 342.
[213] Ibid.
[214] Kern, "Rethinking Ottoman Frontier Policies," 12.
[215] Ibid.

Regarding the status of women who married foreigners, the Ottoman Nationality Law less in common with the Great Powers with whom it competed and more in common with more distant counterparts. Latin American Nationality Laws were, by and large, far more liberal when it came to women. A woman losing her nationality as a consequence of marrying a non-national was not mentioned in Panama's Constitution of 1904, which also stipulated that a Panamanian father *or* mother (rather than father *and* mother, *or* just the father) made the offspring eligible for citizenship, thus giving women a legitimate role in constructing the constituency.[216] The 1870 Constitution of Paraguay stipulated the same conditions. Furthermore, it rewarded immigrants who had married Paraguayan women, by reducing the duration of their requisite residency from two years to one (Art. 36).[217] Women were not deprived of their natural-born nations according to the El Salvadoran Constitutions of 1872 and 1886, either.[218] Despite including some very strict regulations pertaining to foreigners, the State considered the legitimate offspring of foreign men and Salvadoran women as its nationals (as well as the woman's descendants), along with illegitimate children of Salvadoran women (and the legitimate children of Salvadoran men) who were born abroad but not naturalized in their country of birth (Art. 42.2, 42.3, and 42.4). The Venezuelan Civil Code of 1904 specified that women who married foreigners did *not* lose their citizenship, though foreign women who married Venezuelan men became Venezuelan (Arts. 18 and 19).[219]

Not articulating on the status of women who married foreigners witnessed revision as the twentieth century progressed. "Difficulties"[220] arose when non-mutual exclusivity of nationality laws engendered stateless women. Argentina, for example, eventually decreed that although its laws did not "include marriage among the ways of acquisition and loss of citizenship ... the foreign woman married to an Argentine follows the condition and status of her husband *in her exercise of civil rights* [emphasis added]."[221] Though the women could not be considered 'Argentines,' the State nevertheless saw no

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[216] "Panama," in Flournoy and Hudson, *A Collection of Nationality Laws*, 458f. Panama's law did not, however, articulate a means by which a woman could be rehabilitated to the nation if she had, in fact, lost her natural-born status due to the dependent citizenship imposed on her by her husband's state, if he was a Great Power national, for example.

[217] "Paraguay," in Ibid., 471. Paraguay was especially liberal with its policies towards resident-foreigners and their naturalization, prior to which they enjoyed the same legal rights as citizens (thus making long-term residence without naturalization a viable option).

[218] "El Salvador," in Ibid., 517.

[219] "Venezuela," in Ibid., 639.

[220] "Argentina," in Ibid., 12.

[221] "Argentina," in Flournoy and Hudson, *A Collection of Nationality Laws of Various Countries,* 13.

cause for "objection to delivering them passports or other documents in place thereof."[222] The most nuanced treatment of women can be found in Japanese legislation: Law No. 21 of 1898 and Law No. 66 of 1899 made an exception for the status of women who were the "head of the house."[223] In most cases the Japanese law was consistent with Great Power nationality laws in that the status of women (and their children) were contingent upon and followed the status of the husband—whether becoming Japanese or adopting another nation (Arts. 8, 13, 15, and 18).[224] The anomaly was a woman who was 'head of the house' did not lose her nationality upon marriage to a foreigner; her Japanese nationality was extended to her husband (*nyufu*) (Art. 5.2).[225]

An evaluation of nationality laws contemporaneous with the Ottoman Law of 1869 sheds light on relative degrees of inclusivity and exclusivity. Rationalization and the defining of the individual, because the individual became a political force the State had to reckon with, transcended oceans. It is also significant in light of migration to and from the Ottoman dominions. There was a significant Ottoman community in the America's over the course of the Hamidian regime,[226] for example, as well as Japanese residents of Istanbul.[227] Nationality Laws factored into places that were considered for relocation. The Ottoman law falls on different points of the spectrum depending on its stance on who was considered a natural-born Ottoman, a potential Ottoman, and could be ejected from the Ottoman nation. The definition of who a natural-born Ottoman was remained hereditary.

Much like the laws of other states the *a priori* determination of who could pass his/her Ottoman status hereditarily rested upon an antecedent declaration by the political state that all within the territorial dominions were bound to its authority and were also entitled to certain claims. In the Ottoman case, this formal declaration of who was under

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[222] Argentina," in Flournoy and Hudson, *A Collection of Nationality Laws of Various Countries* 13.
[223] "Japan," in Ibid., pp. 381-382.
[224] Ibid., 383.
[225] Ibid., 382.
[226] See, for example, Sarah Gualtieri, "Gendering the Silk Migration Thesis: Women and Syrian Transatlantic Migration, 1878–1924," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 24, no. 1 (2004): 67-78, Hyland Jr., "Arisen from Deep Slumber," Karpat, "The Ottoman Emigration to America, 1860–1914," in *Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History*: 90-131, Akram Fouad Khater, "Becoming 'Syrian' in America: A Global Geography of Ethnicity and Nation," *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 14, no. 2/3 (Fall/Winter 2005): 299-331 and Khater, "'House' to 'Goddess of the House': Gender, Class, and Silk in 19th-Century Mount Lebanon," *IJMES* 39, no. 1 (2007): 15-32.
[227] See, for example, Esenbel, "A 'fin de siècle' Japanese Romantic in Istanbul."

the sultan's jurisdiction on an equal basis, as an Ottoman, and could legitimately claim the State's protection occurred with the Rose Chamber and Reform Edicts. The House of Osman was the inspiration of the demonym of the citizenry. 'Ottoman' does not describe anything more than a political allegiance/stance: linguistically, *Osman-lı* literally means 'with Osman.' The law being 'exclusivist' in favor of Ottomans in the Ottoman state establishes very little, even if it articulates a preference for hereditary nationality, as articulated by Article 8. Furthermore, those who adopted a foreign nationality abroad—whose children the State considered Ottoman—were less likely to be members of the core constituency.

Nineteenth-century nationalisms often exhibited exclusivist tendencies. The era's nationality laws—by and large—did not. Liberia was perhaps one of the few exceptions of states that had an explicitly exclusivist nationality law that excluded potential membership based on race. Its *raison d'être* being "to provide a home for the dispersed and oppressed children of Africa,"[228] the possibility of membership and property ownership was, exclusively, reserved for individuals of black African heritage, with few exceptions (1907 Constitution, Art. 5.12 and 5.13; 1908 Nationality Law, Sec. 1.1).[229] Liberia was a new state, however, and could afford to engineer its vision of a homogenous populace without resorting to policies of domestic exclusion to achieve it. The German Nationality Law of 1913 is beyond the temporal scope of the Hamidian regime and will thus not be discussed in detail. It is useful to briefly examine it along with its French conceptual other, semantically and theoretically, especially since,

> ... for two centuries, locked together in a fateful position at the center of state- and nation-building in Europe, France and Germany have been constructing, elaborating, furnishing to other states distinctive, even antagonistic models of nationhood and national self-understanding.[230]

The French and German models are informative in that they have thus shaped the contemporary frame of reference, as well as the vocabulary of nation.

The conception and formulation of Ottoman nationality resembled the French model more than the German. The former was "political and ideological," the latter

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[228] "Liberia," in Flournoy and Hudson, *A Collection of Nationality Laws of Various Countries*, 410.
[229] Ibid.
[230] Rogers Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany* (London: Harvard UP, 2009), 1.

"ethnocultural."[231] The ethnocultural nature of the German nation has been considered to be a product of its time and circumstances;

> Romantics and reformers understood the relation between nation and state in completely different terms: the former in quasi-aesthetic terms, with the State as the expression of the nation and of its constitute *Volksgeist*; the latter in strictly political terms, with the nation—the mobilized and united *Staatsvold*—as the deliberate and artificial creation of the State.[232]

Aside from its broader conceptualization, the periodization of the Ottoman state's nation-building process also followed the French model. In both cases, the emerging nation was grafted onto a pre-existing state. Conversely, the concept of a German nation had been fomenting prior to the creation of its state, materialized only with unification, in 1871. Despite these features, however, the German nation has still been described in overinclusivist and underinclusivist terms (rather than exclusivist), "it was underinclusive, excluding above all millions of Austrian Germans...overinclusive, including French in Alsace-Lorraine, Danes in North Schleswig, and Poles in eastern Prussia." [233] Similar to some non-core-constituency Ottomans, the groups were a testament to Germany's overinclusivist nature "were not simply linguistic but rather, especially in the last case, self-conscious minorities."[234] Thus, by the same token, even if the Ottoman state had resembled the German example in its ethnocultural conceptualization of its national identity, along with exclusivism, the argument that it was also simultaneously 'under-' and 'over-inclusive' would have to be addressed.

It is evident that the core constituency of the late-Ottoman state reflected the Turco-Sunni identity that was retrospectively designated to it when it became evident that Ottoman pluralism would ultimately fail to survive the nation into the twentieth century, intact. Though the salience of these core constituency features varied in their degrees of potency and refinement over the course of the State's existence—e.g. it has been argued that the Turkic component was less a factor over the course of the Hamidian years than the Sunni Muslim, which was refined through Ottomanization-Hanefization efforts.[235] If, indeed, either element of this ethno-religious compound was promoted over others as a factor in the formulation of the nationality law, the rational laws that were instituted over the course of the nineteenth century certainly did not provide any evidence for it. If

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[231] Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*.
[232] Ibid., 10.
[233] Ibid., 13.
[234] Ibid.
[235] Deringil, *Well-Protected Domains*.

national identity was conceived as being ethno-religiously specific and representative of only a segment of the constituency, then the term 'Ottoman', as defined in the Ottoman Nationality Law was 'overinclusive.' This core term was an undefined one among many other determinants. And, unlike the designation 'German,' it was also racially ambiguous. By the same token, however, Ottoman nationality would additionally have been 'underinclusive,' by not including, nor privileging with a claim to natural-born membership within the polity, any of the groups that shared these core ethno-religious constants (e.g. Turco-Muslims under Russian or Iranian sovereignty or Hanefi Muslims living beyond Ottoman dominions). The national identity that was formulated by the Ottoman state neither stressed nor addressed the inherent belonging of these identities to its nation. Nonetheless, the State hosted them, bargained for their loyalty, or competed for their citizenship, especially against the Russian state.[236]

By the advent of the Hamidian regime, and certainly onwards, the Ottoman state appears to have actively solicited membership and potential belonging to Muslim foreigners more than non-Muslims. It did not, however, consider them as a part of the nation until they naturalized as Ottomans. Neither did it refuse membership to non-Muslims. Like the nationality laws of other nineteenth-century 'multi-national' states confronted with the urgency to define and adopt individuals in a manner most conducive to preserving their borders, the Ottoman law was by necessity ethno-religiously neutral in its definition of citizen. Though it could encourage the naturalization of core constituency co-religionists, and did not reject or disenfranchise those who did not share the same 'constants.'

The Ottoman Nationality Law cemented a new reality for the Islamicate world. It rationalized the subordination of membership in the religious community to membership in a modern political nation. In contradiction to the concept of the unity of the community of believers, the Ottoman government drew borders with the intention of forming a nation and did not give Muslims an exclusive mode of access to the State's political body of membership. Before, "a foreigner could not acquire Turkish nationality unless he had embraced the Mohammedan religion."[237] Access to Ottoman subjecthood through conversion had been established by the capitulations of 1675, 1740, 1718, and

[236] See, for example, Meyer, "Immigration, Return, and the Politics of Citizenship," and Meyer *Turks Across Empires*.
[237] "Turkey," in Flournoy and Hudson, *A Collection of Nationality Laws of Various Countries*, 567.

1746,[238] (for English, French, Austrian, and Danish renegades, respectively), was formally discarded (or, concealed) in the rational framework, in 1869. Thenceforth, national identity was carried "by blood, *sanguinis jure*: this was the distinction clearly established between religious nationalism and civil nationalism."[239] The Ottoman state did not venture to stretch the tight skin of its forming nation to include the *umma*. The State had never claimed the allegiance of Muslims that were beyond its territorial jurisdiction based on its political authority, to begin with.

Foreigners who wished to become neutral Ottomans needed to reside within the dominions for five years, irrespective of race, creed, or home state. This was the only condition for naturalization articulated by the Ottoman Nationality Law. In terms of the number of years, five was the standard requisite time for many (e.g. Great Britain and Austria), less than some (e.g. Hungary), and more than others (e.g. Brazil and Paraguay). The Ottoman law, similar to non-Great Power states, did not have additional requirements (e.g. financial independence, 'good character,' freedom from disability, *etc*.). In instances of involuntary expatriation, the Ottoman law was consistent with many others in that the adoption of a foreign nationality or the taking up arms for another state entailed involuntary expatriation, i.e. exclusion, from the State. Some states had more detailed grounds for ejecting individuals from its nation, e.g. Panamanians who had not supported the national cause for independence had their citizenship revoked.[240] Neither did the Ottoman law have a clause that legitimated the expulsion of resident foreigners, like the British had decreed the 1905 Aliens Act. Despite the fact that the Ottoman Nationality Law was less severe than others in terms of the provisions for imposed expatriation—especially for women, whom it did not by default eject from the nation upon marriage with a foreigner—it was certainly unsympathetic to those who took up allegiance to other states.

The Ottoman Nationality Law was relatively harsh on former citizens. It forbade individuals who had expatriated themselves and had taken up another nationality without the permission of the State from re-entry into its dominions (Art. 6). In fact, the trend in taking up foreign nationality while abroad exhibits a pattern of adopting foreign nationality, not only without the permission of the State, but also without notifying the State. Choosing to be discreet over one's new nationality and to simultaneously try and

[238] Cardahi, "La Conception et la pratique du droit international privé dans l'Islam," 531f.
[239] Cardahi, "La Conception et la pratique du droit international privé dans l'Islam," 533.
[240] "Panama," in Flournoy and Hudson, *A Collection of Nationality Laws*, 458.

maintain Ottoman nationality was influenced by the fact that expatriation entailed relinquishing one's property. With the Tanzimat reforms, Ottoman law came to allow foreigners to own property; "[t]he third of the land laws of 1867 ... announced on June 18, granted permission to foreigners to own real estate in the Ottoman Empire."[241] But the law did not grant property to those who had voluntarily abandoned their Ottoman nationality. While punishing those natural-born citizens who rejected their nations, over the course of the Hamidian years, the State simultaneously pressured foreign residents who had achieved the requisite term of residence to adopt Ottoman nationality, and solicited membership beyond its borders through its official nationalist ideology.

The Bifurcation of Official Ottomanism, 1876—1909[242]

The process of the Ottoman state's rationalization and nation-building project, encompassing the construction of its official nationalism, occurred at a critical juncture in the State's history. This period was, until recently, considered to be the Ottomans' insurmountable 'decline'—a moment at which it needed to change, or perish. The essentialist notion that, at this moment, the State was in a mode of passive acquiescence and the recipient of the 'Western' imposition of 'Western' reform has now been put to rest. The House of Osman and its governing apparatus have been granted agency in shaping the particularly Ottoman version of modernity. The extent to which the State was in a defensive or offensive position while undergoing its modernization efforts is still up for debate. It is argued here that the Ottoman state was neither in a defensive nor an offensive phase under the reign of Abdülhamid II, but that it negotiated both.

There are undeniably defensive elements to official Ottomanism and the subsequent constructions of the Ottoman nation-/al identity. If one measures a State's power among nations by the 'proximity' of its fields of engagement, as Noam Chomsky has done to measure the contemporary global power of the United States, for example, then some Great Powers had a wider reach than the Ottoman state. More precisely, in the post-Napoleonic age of modern imperialism, this was a field in which Great Powers competed, whereas the British Empire, ultimately, and by far, excelled. Putting aside the prospect of measuring the competitive power of a state by the proximity of its fields of engagement, such fields of engagements are also indicative of where states face their greatest challenges. In this sense, the Great Powers—as a conglomerate—may have

[241] Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire*, 260.
[242] Akcasu, "Migrants to Citizens."

been overestimated in being assumed *the* most direct formidable adversaries of the Ottomans by mere suggestion of them having been, again, assumed, to be the catalyst for Ottoman progress, rationalization, and project of modernity, i.e. 'the impact of the West,' which was, until recently synonymous with "delivery—read modernity—[...] injecting and inspiring reform and paving the way for modern nationalisms."[243] 'Proximity of engagement' is also useful in evaluating the Ottoman project of nation formation, from the defensive angle. In this sense, whatever the role or 'impact of the West' was in the creation of post-Ottoman nation-states (whether fiscal, political, inspirational, ideological, etc.), the drive to form an Ottoman nation was not fueled to counter the penultimate source of irredentist nationalisms, but the form of its final manifestation would take.

The project of Ottoman nation formation commenced abruptly. And not insignificantly, it followed the successful creation of the first post-Ottoman nation-state. The emergence of an independent Greece demonstrated that self-determination was accelerated by defining the 'self'—by spelling out of the name and features of the collectivity that was meant to form the cohesive nation that legitimated the political shell of its state. While asserting autonomy, the Greek constitution also indirectly defined the 'other' from whom the new state had declared emancipation. As such,

> ... [t]he first article of the first Constitutional text of modern Greece, the "Epidauros Constitution" of 1822, classified as Greeks "natives [*autochthonous*] who believe in Christ." In this and in the other two revolutionary constitutions (1822-1827), there is no clear distinction between notions of "Greek citizen" and notions of "Greek Christian Orthodox."[244]

Because the Greek nation was created for the liberation of a specific ethno-religious community within the Ottoman state, an ethnic component that was nevertheless flexible and could include regional Christians depending on their status,[245] the Ottoman nation would have to be a designator for all of the ethno-religious communities resident within the domains the State wanted to retain. In this sense, Ottomanism was defensive. Alas, dissuading alternate communal identifications that may prompt inspiration for self-determination was not the State's only intention in undertaking nation-formation.

Ottomanism and its ensuing nation were indications of the State simultaneously straddling offensive and defensive policies. They were, for example, also byproducts of

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[243] Sajdi, "Decline, its Discontents, and Ottoman Cultural History," in *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee*, 5.
[244] Maria Koundoura, *The Greek Idea* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007), 86.
[245] Ibid.

the State's need to register and homogenize a diverse subject population in order to extract (e.g. taxes and military service) more efficiently at a time there was great material investment being made to remain competitive; "this Ottomanism" was therefore also a form of "identity politics [that]…emerged as a tool of state expansion rather than a result of Westernization."[246] This was both defensive and offensive.

Official Ottomanism, as it was practiced by the Hamidian regime differed from other varieties of the nationalist ideology. It developed on a shared temporal continuum with some, but occupied different spaces; exilic Young Turks in Geneva and Paris who synthesized their visions collective national harmony over the course of the "intellectual phase"[247] of the movement would certainly not be suggested that their version of Ottomanism was similar to the sultan who they wanted to overthrow, and whose mode of government they despised. With other varieties, Hamidian Ottomanism shared a space but not time. Domestic varieties of Ottomanism that followed the Young Turk Revolution also differed from Hamidian Ottomanism, not the least because they followed the collapse of sultanic authority and the formal debut of the nation and were thus necessarily dictated by those who claimed to be the representatives rather than the authority of the latter. All versions, however, deliberated—with different conclusions—how to best persuade those groups that they believed to be indigenous and inherent component of the Ottoman nation that they belonged to this constructed ideal. By the same token, each also deliberated who was foreign—an Ottoman's 'other.' Combined with these definitions, determining who was foreign and could *become* an Ottoman lends a lens onto the self-attested identity of the State, along with how it saw its future. This analysis rests in migration and naturalization. Trends of migration and naturalization reveal that the Hamidian regime was more expansionist than exclusivist.

The Hamidian regime propagated belonging on two levels, one was secular-territorial and the other extraterritorial-ideological. As the following chapters will demonstrate, in advocating legal assimilation to foreigners who were already resident within the territories, the State operated within a secular, rational, and legal framework. In this sphere, the State adhered to the conditions articulated in the Nationality Law (e.g. it may have shown discreet privilege to Muslims—it was entitled to do so, through Article 4—but it did not discriminate in the naturalization of those who had met the

[246] Blumi, *Foundations of Modernity*, 28.
[247] See Hanioğlu, *Young Turks in Opposition* and Taglia, *Intellectuals and Reform in the Ottoman Empire*.

requirements of nationalization, which meant that the discreet privilege only entitled Muslims seeking membership to the Ottoman nation-under-constructions to an expedited naturalization). On the other hand, the manner in which the Hamidian state recruited for members in the extraterritorial realm was through capitalizing on the sovereign's sacrosanctity, as the spiritual leader of the *umma*, which was legitimated through the Constitution (despite Great Power attempts to undermine Abdülhamid's position as such, especially in the second half of his reign). An evaluation of the Hamidian regime's extraterritorial and territorial recruitment methods therefore reveals a method of shaping the constituency through employing positive discrimination. Externally, the State propagated membership to those who would reinforce the authority and power of Abdülhamid rather than internally practicing exclusivist policies that would have achieved a similar outcome, i.e. through emphasizing the fundamental un-belonging of 'non-conformists' who resisted Ottomanization. If individuals who were recruited externally did become internal residents, however, the State treated them as foreigners. The Hamidian regime expected the foreigner's adherence to the State's secular and rational principles to be expressed through naturalization. The studies that make up this thesis address the soft and hard policies in both the territorial and extraterritorial realms, and collectively establish that the Hamidian vision for a nation was, indeed, exclusivist. The nuance rests with the fact that Hamidian exclusivism was not based on excluding members of the natural-born constituency that challenged the regime's claims to 'hegemony by consent,' but rather upon the expectation that the national affiliation of those within the territorial shell of the political Ottoman state to be consistent with the national interest—exclusively Ottoman.[248]

[248] Akcasu, "Migrants to Citizens," 390.

> *"...even though the Osmanli may sink again some day into the Asiatic darkness from which he came, Constantinople, under a new name, perhaps, will still and ever be the capital of the East, the golden key to Asia, the jewel coveted for many crowns, in strife for which the greedy nations will contend to the very end of time."*[249]

The City, Incomplete

The significance of Istanbul in considering the Ottoman national image over the course of the Hamidian years rests upon two assumptions. First, as the seat of the sovereign and the governing apparatus, the city was where the State was able to most directly exercise power. In this capacity, the city also provides testimony to the discrepancy that existed between how the State's authority manifested itself where it had the greatest jurisdiction, and where it willed to have greater jurisdiction. Of second importance is the quasi-symbolic nature of the State's ability to exercise power, as Istanbul was also where the foreign and domestic forces aimed to limit the State's hegemony. Thus the malleable Hamidian vision for the nation was being constructed within the confines of an inherited rational framework in the capital city that the Hamidian regime surveilled, while under the surveillance of political and ideological opponents. The study of Hamidian Istanbul and the place and perception of the foreigner within it, first needs to overcome a great obstacle, however. Namely, that Istanbul was a legend: "romance [...] clings to Constantinople."[250] The city's 'actuality' was shaped by a point of reference, e.g. the subjective and uncompromising vividness of this 'romance,' thus the city's names became indexicals[251]—much in the same way 'actuality' is.[252]

Istanbul, or Constantinople: What's in a Name?

The reference points of Hamidian era observers of the capital are an obstacle in the quest for verisimilitude of the foreigner's place in the city. The perceptions of those whose glances sought the verification of (what had vanished of) their version of an idealized 'Constantinople,' the 'Istanbuls' of others were lost. Since many of the city's names were in simultaneous circulation, how the city was indexed according to the perpetuators of the various appellations is a worthwhile consideration.

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[249] F. Marion Crawford, *Constantinople* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895), 4.
[250] Ibid., 4.
[251] I would like to acknowledge Jan Blommaert for pointing me in the direction of indexicality.
[252] Peter van Inwagen, "Indexicality and Actuality," *The Philosophical Review* 89, no. 3 (Jul., 1980): 403-426.

Among other designators, the Ottoman capital was conjured by Constantinople, Ko(n)stantiniye, Istanbul, Stamboul, Islambol, and Dersaadet. Whether the signified was 'the city of Constantine' or 'in/to the city,'[253] whether it embodied a perversion, signaled 'where Islam abounds,' or, instead, located the material countenance of 'the gate of felicity,' all were used. A multitude of meanings were thus conveyed—the choice of the former was intimately tied to the intent of the latter. There were others as well; notable among them were Byzantium, Nova Roma (Νέα Ρώμη), Asitane-i Saadet, Tsarigrad, *et cetera*. The name of a city reveals its history, true. Istanbul's designators, for example, divulge Byzantine, Greek, Latin and Roman heritage. An Arabic association can be traced to Dersaadet; in Tsarigrad, there is ambition and mythology. Of the names, Islambol is the one to assume the greatest religious signification. It has been argued that

> [f]rom the very beginning of the Ottoman administration, one of the most significant policies was the creation and retention of Istanbul's Islamic character. A vivid illustration of this policy was the occasional use of the name 'İslambol' (where Islam abounds) in the official records during the reign of Mehmed II.[254]

Mehmed II circulating 'Islambol' was not solely a demonstration of "one of the most significant policies" of the State—"from the very beginning"—i.e. "the creation and retention of Istanbul's Islamic character."[255] With 'Islambol,' Mehmed II also indexed a very specific moment of transition: of legitimacy, power, and ownership over the city and its residents. Circulating 'Islambol' additionally imposed the external recognition of the transition, while at the same time expressing the Ottoman ambition of becoming a center in the Islamicate world (well before the conquest of the Arab world and the Holy cities of Islam). This name that was *chosen* to represent all of this, however, was also one that undeniably claimed continuity with Second Rome. The House of Osman did not fashion itself as just the conqueror of Constantinople, but also as its inheritor. The implied continuity was what ultimately made 'Islambol' lose circulatory value (and become a resort in defensive moments)—receivers of the message denied the link.

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[253] For a debate on whether the word comes from 'in' or 'into' the city, see Demetrius John Georgacas, "The Names of Constantinople," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 78 (1947): 347-367, Caroline Finkel, *Osman's Dream* (London: John Murray, 2005), 57, and Edward G. Bourne, "The Derivation of Istanbul," *The American Journal of Philology* 8, no. 1 (1887): 78-82.

[254] Murat Gül, *The Emergence of Modern Istanbul: Transformation and Modernization of a City* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2009), 12.

[255] Ibid.

The effect and utility of Islambol to express a transition of power that nevertheless claimed continuity was additionally damaged by the word lacking original belonging to the Ottoman context. Its source was not within the linguistic culture of the Ottomans, whose claims of legitimacy as the rulers of the city it was presumably created to serve. The morphology of 'Islambol' was as Greek as the morphology of 'Istanbul;' i.e. "[t]he old problem of Turkish name *Stambúl* (*Stambol* in 1426, *Istanbol* by Turkish scholars, *Islambol* in the seventeenth century) may now be considered as explained: the name was transformed from the older form *Stimbóli*."[256] In the nationalizing and national eras, Islambol has been brushed with the stroke of illegitimacy and thereby discredited as an adoption of the indigenous—and idealized—(linguistic) culture that was copied and modified by the Ottomans. Islambol was written off as a derivation of a "corruption"[257] (a thrice removed imitation of an imitation of an ideal, in Platonic terms). There are variations of the argument on derivation, as well. The attempt to imbue with meaning a word that was an incorrect appellation of the original Greek and had no origin in the 'Turkish' context also lent itself to the interpretation that the Ottomans customization of an already bastardized Istanbul to suit their own propagated identity and ambitions came at the expense of others who could be expressed as the legitimate possessors of the city, based merely on the heritage of its name.

Istanbul is not a Turkish corruption of Stimbóli, though it maybe that both are closely linked to Stamboul, and thus the inspiration of Islambol. As the Ottomans were closing their final century as the rulers of the polynymous city, Edward Bourne challenged the assumption that Istanbul was a Turkish corruption. Among other "indisputable proofs,"[258] he referenced a French translation of Ibn Battuta's travelogue and quoted Battuta by proxy. The fourteenth-century traveller mentioned the Byzantine city being divided in two sections, the residents called one called "*Esthamboûl*...[and the other] *Galata*."[259] *The Voyages* revealed that the use (and, division!) of Istanbul preceded the Turks. The doubts arising from Bourne's readiness to trust a French translation (and transliteration) are alleviated when one compares how Istanbul appears in an Arabic version of Battuta's travels with the how it appeared in Ottoman. It suffices

[256] Georgacas, "The Names of Constantinople," 366.
[257] Bourne, "The Derivation of Stamboul," 78.
[258] Ibid., 80.
[259] Ibn Batoutah, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah,* Defrémery and Sanguinetti trans., Vol. II, pp.431-2. Bourne, in Bourne, "The Derivation of Istanbul," 80.

that say that "اصطنبول"[260] and "استنبول"[261] are close enough to make the Bourne's point, since the opening vowel (and the 'nun,' i.e. ن) is most critical. Though it does leave as many questions as it answers, because Bourne's proxy French translation substitutes an 'm' where there ought to be an 'n,' which makes it closer to the word that it is argued to be the source of the corruption (Stimbóli), rather than the corruption itself (Istanbul)—whereas Battuta's rendering makes a case for the reverse.

Determining who was the original corruptor of Istanbul, or, if the word is, indeed, a corruption is less significant here. What is more relevant is the availability and simultaneous circulation of a multitude of names and the fact that each had a value, and, when used, could be a tool for individuals to orient themselves in an intellectual rather than physical space. Istanbul's names could not have served the sole function of designating a geographical place, especially if there was not a single name that the State had designated for that function. Each and every designation was loaded with value:

> [t]he all-purpose word in the dictionary, a product of the neutralization of the practical relations within which it functions, has no social existence: in practice it is always immersed with situations, to such an extent that core meaning which remains relatively invariant through the diversity of markets may pass unnoticed.[262]

These values associated with the contexts words are 'immersed with' are not designated by a single source, but are additionally acquired and accumulated upon words gaining their 'social existence.' Considering the civilizational discourses of the era in question, the fact that there exists an essentialist argument and an accompanying lexicological deconstruction for every word that described the Ottoman capital can be considered in conjunction with the fact that 'forms of semiosis' are

> subject to rules of access and regulations as to circulation. That means that that such systemic patterns of indexicality are also systemic patterns of authority, of control and evaluation, and hence of inclusion and exclusion *by real or perceived others*...[263]

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[260] Ibn Battuta, *Rihlat Ibn Battutah: al-musamāh Tuhfat al-nuzzār fī gharā'ib al amsār wa-'ajā'īb al-asfār*, Vol.1, (Egypt: Maktabat al-Tijarat al-kubra, 1377/1958), 227. In fact, this version of 'Istanbul' can still be observed today in signs of some establishments that advertise their services in Istanbul in the Arabic language.

[261] See, for example, the spelling of the name of the city in a book about its Ottoman and Byzantine monumental heritage, in Mehmed Ziya, *Istanbul ve Boğaziçi: Bizans ve Osmanlı Medeniyetleri'nin Asar-ı Bakiyesi* (Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti Telif ve Tercüme Dairesi, 1336 [1917/18]). Istanbul Belediyesi Atatürk Kitaplığı DB.552.

[262] Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power,* 39.

[263] Jan Blommaert, "Sociolinguistics and Discourse Analysis: Orders of Indexicality and Polycentricity," *Journal of Multicultural Discourses* 2, no. 2 (2007), 117.

In light of the acceptance that a word (as indexical) has the power to convey a position (also of authority), what becomes more important than seeking a most legitimate name for the city is to consider the values, connotations, associations, and the (conflicting) messages produced by the plethora of the city's designators that were circulated at the same time—especially since 'legitimacy' is also an indexical. The legitimacy of legitimacy is contextual and dependent upon a point of reference; it is therefore abstract.Regarding the State's engagement with a medley of diverse words that lacked innocence, it is worth contemplating the implication of the potential non-existence of a *single* official name. The converse scenario is perhaps even more remarkable, i.e. the potential existence of an official name, that the House of Osman did not choose to force into circulation as the preferred, dominant, appellation. These deliberations end up yielding an analogy for the way in the State interacted with its constituency.

All of the aforementioned names signified the capital over the course of the Ottoman centuries. They could have been expressed and interpreted as neutral identifiers in some fields. In many others, however, they carried the capacity to be delivered and/or received as loaded, sometimes even paradoxically. To regard, for example, 'I/Sta(m/n)bul' as a 'Turkish' corruption of something pure-ly Greek is analogous to how the city was viewed by many. On the other hand, to deny the 'Turks' the corruption of the word, as well, could have suggested that they were even less entitled to the city than would have been *if* they had actually corrupted it. Each exposes a bias. Given the suggestion that both have the same non-Turkish origin, the debate between these two (and their designated values) renders the indexical utility of one over the other slightly comical, if the intention is to stress Greek belonging (since both are discovered as being Greek). Nevertheless, given the plethora of options that existed by the nineteenth century, an analysis of the choice of which is utilized, and by whom, is as worthy a consideration as determining the level of authentic belonging of the word to whichever culture was first to witness—or bring about—the manifestation of its final corruption. One concedes that the words for the Ottoman capital distinct values in the cultural intertext, even if the substance of their respective values may have since been proven as hollow (i.e. if they did, indeed, have the same pre-Ottoman cultural origin).

When Istanbul's residents, foreigners, or the State chose one name over another, they indexed: their position, their identity, and their relationship to the city were all oriented through a simple preferred articulation. A philological study of "The Names of

Constantinople,"[264] for example, takes a position if historically contextualized in a pre- and post-Byzantine temporal framework that extends to the early-(Turkish) Republican Era, i.e. after Istanbul had become the official name of the city in 1930.[265] A text about the names of 'Constantinople' that includes the officialized 'Istanbul' but refers to the city's ancient designator as the dominant signifier in a framework where the latter no longer exists as a geo-political entity, indexes an historical entity (with identified contemporary ethno-cultural descendants) as the most legitimate possessor of the city. This choice can express and/or be received as a rejection of the city's current mode of existence—e.g. suggesting that the city belongs the polity most closely associated with the signifier, without ever needing to precisely articulate this position. The indexical effect is further multiplied when this orientation is expressed in the above medium of a scholarly article, because it is a platform in which "one can speak as an expert using a particular register indexing membership of expert groups,"[266] i.e. the legitimator is legitimate. The impact of the inherent values of the appellation are unaltered by whether or not it was pure, corrupted by, or authentic to the Ottoman polity—the search for a 'legitimate name' though locating its origin in the past, is superfluous in relation to what the word evolves to express, with the values it has acquired in the meantime vis-à-vis its legitimacy.

Hamidian Istanbul was "polycentric."[267] The State, press, various indigenous and foreign communities, classes, nations, competing Great Powers and their appendages, churches, mosques, synagogues, and masonic centers are among the obvious centers (themselves, also polycentric) whose representatives and affiliates indexed the city in ways that were sometimes conflicting. The names of the city that were in circulation for daily use were tied to socio-cultural and historical associations, and were not dictated by philology. But philology and semiotics were nevertheless registers of legitimacy that were sometimes utilized for their potential to reinforce narratives. In other words, the underlying social and cultural stress that was derived from lexicological associations of 'Constantinople' could become a tool to emphasize a pre-Ottoman past in some fields. In others fields, utilizing 'Istanbul' could suggest traversing beyond the juncture of 1453, i.e. beyond "the psychological impact of the conquest in the West, and the horror

[264] Georgacas, "The Names of Constantinople," pp. 347—367.
[265] Finkel, *Osman's Dream*, 57.
[266] Blommaert, "Sociolinguistics and Discourse Analysis," 119.
[267] Ibid.

over the fall of the Byzantine Empire."[268] The word had acquired through its 'social existence' the capability—independently, so long as its connotations were maintained in the culture and discourse of the society/-ies participating in the exchange—to historically trace the city to the point in which it belonged to its presumably legitimate owner. The articulation of the word carried the potentiality to promote resistance to accepting change beyond the point from which it refused to advance.

Nineteenth-century impressions of the city, recorded by those whose feet were firmly planted in the ground of Istanbul, were often processed through expectations that were formed according to their relations to the 'centers' that best promoted their interests. Thus many eastbound visitors journeyed to 'Constantinople.' Whilst in 'the City of Constantine,' they took customary glimpses at 'Stamboul,' the quarter that conceptually conflated Turkish and Muslim,[269] but they seldom mentioned Istanbul or any other designations for the city. Their recollections confirmed, conformed to, or were disappointed by the legend of the city and its inhabitants that was perpetuated by the center with which they were most closely associated, i.e. this was especially true for observers who were representatives of the Great Powers and perpetuators of the corresponding metanarrative. The legacy of Byzantium occupied a prominent place in the European imagination. What emerges in many versions of late Ottoman Istanbul is lament for the loss of its Constantinople past. An attachment to bygone times was reflected in the writings of those who were nostalgic for an era in which the Hagia Sophia was a Church—they longed for this history to reclaim possession of the city.

Western European visitors to Hamidian Istanbul could express remorse for the change subjected to one of the centers of the Greco-Roman heritage they had come to believe they inherited. Upon arrival, those whose sentiments reverberated with this notion indexed their position. They were in 'Constantinople' and "would rather stand there in the dim aisle of the great mosque and believe for a moment that the savage warrior marked it for his own with Christian blood."[270] The Hagia Sophia, the greatest symbol of the unfortunate Ottoman interruption in the city's European destiny, was

> ... a pleasure, from the artistic point of view at all events, to think that, in all probability, at some not very distant date, when the Ottoman Empire shall have

[268] Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet, *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 201), 11.
[269] Edmondo de Amicis, *Constantinople*, Maria Hornor Lansdale trans. (Philadelphia: Henry T. Coates &Co., 1896), 39.
[270] Crawford, *Constantinople*, 2.

> passed to its doom, these exquisite decorations will reappear in all their fadeless splendor, as fresh and beautiful as when they were first executed.[271]

The future of the Byzantine city and Constantine's church was in fact imagined from the perspective of the past; Constantinople could be a hope for the city to return to the unchanged—imagined—moment from which it had deviated. Furthermore, it was a future that did not include its current residents. As part and parcel of Greco-Roman 'Western Civilization' that had been in the process of a re-making since the Renaissance and Enlightenment, many expressed anguish over the Turkish possession of the eastern capital of Christendom. Constantinople was the past, and the future when the Turks would return to wherever it was they came from, after their unentitled occupation of the city, that was an extension of their civilizational opposite, had expired—it was more for some, and less for others.

Alongside those who regretted the Ottoman possession of their Byzantine heritage, there were others who were more consumed with its Orientalist-tinged present. In other words, some expressed concern for the eventual loss of an exoticized and romanticized Ottoman Constantinople. Edmondo de Amicis imagined the fate and legacy of the pages he had composed about Istanbul. In a tone of humility, he imagined that his "old torn book of the nineteenth century," might in the distant future be found in the "bottom of" some Italian bride's "grandmother's clothes-press."[272] In experiencing the city on what De Amicis imagined to be the bride's "wedding journey," he predicted she would "exclaim, 'what a pity! what a dreadful pity it is that Constantinople has changed so.'"[273] It was not only foreigners who lamented change, and loss, however. Members of the Ottoman community also criticized material and immaterial change; their lament was for another kind of change. In short, an idealized image of the city and a sorrow for the inflictions of time (actual, imagined, and potential) permeated the writings of those who tried to preserve its memory. Both those who froze the city in the (pre-Ottoman) distant past, the nearer (Ottoman) past, and those who wanted it frozen in its (Orientalist) present were invested in what the city symbolized for their personal realities—the articulation of one name for the city over another could be an expression of an association for a particular version of the city, and a longing to participate in its reclaiming. Observers of Constantinople were dependent on their version of the city for their own identities, for it located them in the world and in the civilizations within it.

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[271] Richard Davey, *The Sultan and His* Subjects, 2nd ed. (London: Chatto & Windus, 1907), 269.
[272] De Amicis, *Constantinople*, 173.
[273] Ibid.

They feared the dissolution of the city they believed existed, that they saw to exist, only incompletely.

The Polycentric State's Hegemony over Polycentricism

Istanbul was a city of many centers that directed conflicting discourses and visions for the city's present, past, and future. As mentioned in the previous section, those who articulated the city's name were able to express their orientations through active or passive acceptance of these positions through valued semiotic indexicals. In light of this, it is significant that the Ottoman state did not choose to force into circulation a particular signifier for the city that became its capital. The administrative name of the region was Dersaadet,[274] which was the most commonly employed designator for the city in the State's official internal correspondences. Istanbul was more widely circulated in the social sphere, however. While maintaining Dersaadet as the most consistently utilized form of the city's name in an official capacity, the State allowed Constantinople and other designations to roam free along with all of their connotations. With the advent and subsequent burgeoning of the press in the nineteenth century, the cacophony of names for the city had become evident on a quotidian basis by the Hamidian regime. Over the course of those years, Istanbul was a newspaper hub that published a plethora of dailies and weeklies. Native, foreign, and state owned papers (though frequently censured or shut down) were circulated near and far—the city they were printed out of, however, was a deliberate choice, based on their audience and respective centers.

The front pages of the many newspapers betrayed any semblance of a unified vision for the Ottoman capital city, so far as its name was concerned. In 1893, for example, the Persian exilic press was distributing its *Akhtar* [Star] to 'Dersaadet', among other places, but referred to the city within its pages as 'Islambol.'[275] The Ottoman *Maarif* [Education] was also circulated within 'Dersaadet,' but had a column titled "Istanbul Post."[276] *The Oriental Advertiser* was printed from Constantinople's "Buyuk Millet Han, Troisième Etage, Galata."[277] One presumes that since the administrative name of the city was 'Dersaadet,' this is what was printed on the top left-hand corner of many (though not all) newspapers among the list of places that it was delivered to. This was

[274] Gül, *The Emergence of Modern Istanbul*, 8.
[275] See, for example, *Akhtar/L'Akhter*, 6 Rabi`ath-Thani 1311 [17 October 1893], 214.
[276] See, for example, *Maarif*, 19 Ağustos 1309 [31 August 1893], 86.
[277] For example, *The Oriental Advertiser/Le Moniteur Oriental* (2 January 1893).

an expression of compliance to what would have been the preferred name for the postal service, however, and was inconsistent with the preference of journalists working for various press organs. The preference of the paper was reflected in the choice of words employed in the actual articles. Neither was compliance to postal preferences universal. English and French-language newspapers did not pay much heed to the administrative name of the city and instead designated Constantinople in both instances (for circulation and nominal references). This was not strictly a foreign-press phenomenon, however, since not all Ottoman-language newspapers used Dersaadet as one of the regions for circulation. *İkdam* [Perseverance], for example, was printing the details of publication, editor, and subscription details in Ottoman and French by 1909. There was no membership for 'Istanbul,' which is where its administrative headquarters were, under the proprietorship of Ahmet Cevdet; it was, however, "10 paras" per issue "*à Co/spleI*" (in Constantinople).[278] *İkdam* made a point to designate itself as a "Turkish" ("*Türk gazetesidir... journal Turc*") newspaper rather than an "Ottoman" one,[279] thus it may have found Istanbul more consistent with this asserted identity than Dersaadet. Even though the term has since been proven as a pre-Turkish designation for the city, it was nevertheless accepted as a Turkish designation in the nineteenth century.

The lack of a uniform name for the city and even inconsistencies in the signifiers (and, thus, what was signified and indexed) within a single source was not limited to the press. Rather, it is an observable phenomenon for nearly everything printed in Hamidian Istanbul, inclusive of signs and plaques; the *Dersaadet Elektrik Şirketi* ('Dersaadet Electricity Firm') translated its function on company plaques as "Electricite—Constantinople." Neither was it unusual for books that came out of Istanbul's Ottoman printing houses to have been published in Dersaadet, Constantinople, Ko(n)stantiniye, Istanbul, *et cetera*. Often, there was even a bizarre discord between the name utilized by a given publisher and the author whose work it printed. The 'Ottoman Press' had published *Tarih-i Cevdet* [*History of Cevdet*] in 'Dersaadet,' but Cevdet often referred to the city as 'Istanbul'.[280] In the eleventh

Image II.I

[278] *İkdam (Quotidien): Journal Politique, Économique et Littéraire* (28 Avril 1909).
[279] Ibid.
[280] *Tarih-i Cevdet*. Vol. 11. 2nd Ed. (Dersaadet: Matbaa-ı Osmaniye, 1309 [1891/92]).

volume (of twelve) of his history of the Ottomans, Cevdet mentioned the city as part of various headings within his 'Table of Contents' eight times. The city was designated as 'Dersaadet' once, but as 'Istanbul'[281] seven times. Furthermore, within the book itself, Cevdet refers to "*Istanbul ve Bilad-ı Selase*" ("Istanbul and the three adjoining [districts]").[282] Whereas the State may have been inconsistent with which name of the city it chose to utilize in an un-/official capacity, the compound in this specific formulation was very specific, and it was not 'Istanbul', but '*Dersaadet ve Bilad-ı Selase*.'[283] This can be observed not only in literary tradition, but also in the official censuses of the capital, which were, if ironically, printed in 'Istanbul.'

The Hamidian regime did not push a preferred name for the city into circulation in the linguistic market. The Constitution had articulated the capital of the Ottoman state to be city of 'Istanbul' ["*Devlet-i Osmaniye'nin pay-ı tahtı İstanbul şehiridir*"][284] when Abdülhamid came to the throne. Even so, the regime's semiotic stance was non-committal and changed according to the facet of its identity it sought to assert at given historical moments, throughout the Hamidian years. There is even a lack of consistency amongst the various books of the *Salname-i Devlet-i Aliye-yi Osmaniye*—arguably the most official annual volume to be published within the dominions. It was printed in 'Istanbul' in 1880/81,[285] but in 'Dersaadet' in 1895/96.[286] Even if the *Salname* was published in Dersaadet, the official name of the *vilayet* (province) could be listed as 'İstanbul' within the same volume.[287] However many varieties of the name were used in the thirty three volumes that were published for the years that Abdülhamid was in power, the Constitution that was printed in each of them repeated the capital of the Ottoman state to be 'Istanbul'—even if that particular volume that had this information embedded in it was published in 'Dersaadet.'[288] Over the course of last decade of Abdülhamid II's rule, when the sultan was intensifying his efforts to legitimate his

[281] *Tarih-i Cevdet,* 2–7.
[282] Ibid., 167.
[283] See, for example, the census of 1885, *Dersaadet ve Bilad-ı Selase Nüfus-i Umumisine Mahsus İstatistil Cedvelidir (*Istanbul: Matbaa-i Osmaniye, 1302 [1885]).
[284] *Salname-i Devlet-i Aliye-i Osmaniye: Kırk Yedinci Sene* (Dersaadet: Matbaa-i Amire, 1309 [1893/94], 99.
[285] *Salname-i Devlet-i Aliye-yi Osmaniye: Otuz Altıncı Defa* (Istanbul: Mahmud Bey Matbaası, 1298 [1880/81]).
[286] *Salname-i Devlet-i Aliye-yi Osmaniye: Elli Birinci Sene* (Dersaadet: Matbaa-ı Amire, 1316 [1895/96]).
[287] See, for example, *Salname-i Devlet-i Aliye-yi Osmaniye: Altmış Yedinci Sene* (Dersaadet: Selanik Matbaası, 1328 [1910/11]), 530.
[288] See, for example, *Salname-i Devlet-i Aliye-yi Osmaniye: Kırk Yedinci Sene* (Dersaadet: Matbaa-ı Amire, 1309 [1891/92]), 99.

religious authority as caliph in the eyes of the transnational *umma* and their colonial subjugators, certain volumes were published in the theretofore unfamiliar '*Dar ul-Hilafet-i Aliyye*' ('the gate of the Sublime Caliphate'), e.g. 1898/99[289] and 1901/02.[290] This is notwithstanding the fact that the versions of the city's name utilized within the *Salname* itself were, again, Dersaadet and Istanbul (e.g the office of Istanbul's religious judiciary, Istanbul's high schools, and the bookstores and publishers of Dersaadet).[291]

The Hamidian regime's engagement with the city's names allowed the State to become the authority of the city's polycentricism rather than its suppressor. The State benefited from the nonconstrictive leniencies granted by indexical 'codeswitching.'[292] The State's ability to maintain hegemony in a polycentric city entailed that it engage with the fluidity of the city, its indexical values, and its residents. It was especially pertinent since codeswitching was so common among the constituency. A funny example that demonstrates its extent reveals itself in the "Articles of Peace Between [the brothers] Silvio and Pierre Biscuchia Terminating the War of 1867 & 1868" that was contracted by the founder of Istanbul's American Robert College, Cyrus Hamlin, in order to get the pupils to bring about an end to the physical and verbal abuse they were inflicting on one another. With the treaty, Silvio and Pierre expressed their agreement

> That in order to preserve peace, amity and good will and to confirm a strict brotherhood to all future generations one shall not call the other an ass or a dog or a pig or a thief, robber, rowdy, pezevenk [pimp] or other opprobrious epithet in Italian, French, Turkish, Greek, English, Bulgarian, Armenian or any other language spoken at the tower of Babel since that day.[293]

The House of Osman needed to codeswitch to assert its dominance in 'the tower of Babel.' Thus the State employed many variations of the city's name over the course of it history, and especially in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries—indeed, until the more strict linguistic and cultural homogenization of the constituency in the

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[289] *Salname-i Devlet-i Aliye-yi Osmaniye: Elli Altıncı Sene* (Dar ül-Hilafeti el-Aliye: Mahmud Bey Matbaası, 1316 [1898/99]).
[290] *Salname-i Devlet-i Aliye-yi Osmaniye: Elli Yedinci Sene* (Dar ül-Hilafeti el-Aliye: Tahir Bey Matbaası, 1319 [1901/02]).
[291] *Salname-i Devlet-i Aliye-yi Osmaniye: Elli Yedinci Sene*, pp. 28, 381, and 386, respectively.
[292] 'Codeswitching' is frequently studied with reference to the meanings produced by switching between (usually two) languages, where there exists a dominant language, in the contemporary globalizing context. See, for example, Peter Auer ed., *Bilingual Conversation Revisited* (London: Routledge, 1998).
[293] George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909), 38.

(thus it is fitting that Istanbul was forced into circulation as the official, preferred, and enforced name for the city in 1930, with the shift from state-nation to nation-state).

Hamidian semiotics was customized and the choice of how to index the city was considered according to audience. The State was thereby able to contest over the ownership of each variation, along with its history. That the receiver was a key factor in the State's determining its choice of appellation can be observed in schoolbooks. The Ottoman version of the curriculum book for the bilingual state high school, the *Mekteb-i Sultani*, was published in 'Istanbul,'[294] as was a general grammar book for public secondary and teachers' training schools.[295] The 'Matbaa-ı Amire,' which had published the Ottoman curriculum in Istanbul, also published the French-language counterpart of *Mekteb-i Sultani*'s curriculum; the same press printed the latter in "Constantinople."[296] The Hamidian regime seems to have understood that there were no "innocent words...[that e]ach word, each expression, threatens to take on two antagonistic senses, reflecting the way in which it is understood by the sender and the receiver."[297] The name of the city was chosen by the 'sender' echoed the one utilized by the respective 'receiver,' thereby minimizing the possibility of alienating and/challenging diverse orientations. Whether it was referring to the capital city in the press, diplomatic correspondences, or school curricula, it chose to demonstrate its fluidity for external and internal consumption. This also allowed it to index itself as the ultimate owner of each semiotic manifestation of Istanbul, and, therefore, of Istanbul itself.

At first glance, Hamidian Era policies seem to exhibit a lag between the paces at which the Ottoman state's linguistic and rational frameworks evolved. This lag can be observed in the comparative trajectories of both realms' transitions from accommodationist to legal assimilationist models. Summarily, while the State could construct a neutral Ottoman national citizenry, there were no correspondingly neutral alternatives in the semiotic field. In the political official-nationalist realm, "recourse to a neutralized language is obligatory whenever it is a matter of establishing a practical consensus between agents or groups of agents having partially or totally different

[294] See, for example, *Mekteb-i Sultani Ders Programı* (Istanbul: Matbaa-ı Amire, 1327 [1909-10]).
[295] Abdullah Atif and Mesud Remzi, *Kavaid-i Osmaniye* (Istanbul: Matbaa-ı Amire, 1327 [1909—10]).
[296] See, for example, *Plan D'Etudes et Programmes du Lycée Impérial Ottoman de Galata-Séraï* (Constantinople: Imprimerie Amiré, 1911).
[297] Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, 40.

interests."[298] Neutrality and consensus rested on accepting the indexical values of the circulated names of the polycentric city, and for the State to index itself as a legitimate articulator of each. The polyglot state could not have imposed strict linguistic assimilation or ask its 'Ottoman' citizens to discard their linguistic attachments without alienating non-core constituency members whose loyalty it sought. Such alienation materialized under the Young Turk regime in the Arab provinces in a post-Hamidian era that does attempt to impose linguistic assimilation, for example. Thus it appears that the Hamidian regime's active codeswitching was a strategic political choice. It was not in conflict with the state's rational development, Ottomans—along with being ethno-religiously neutral—did were not linguistically defined, either.[299]

The Hamidian state approached the indexical values of the capital city in the same manner that it engaged with its citizens. While actively engaging in nation formation within a rationalizing framework, it simultaneously remained cautious and steered clear of offending sensitivities with non-neutral identifiers for state and citizen. Furthermore, in a blatantly polycentric city and state, by not officiating or enforcing a single semiotic manifestation for the capital city, it was able to portray itself as the primary authority over all centers, identities, and associations. The State minting coins in 'Konstantiniye' forced the recognition that it also claimed ownership of the word that could be used to symbolically challenge Ottoman presence and authority in Istanbul—the State claimed all versions of the city, and contributed to the diversification of interpretations, thereby asserting itself as a polycentric state, with a hegemonic claim over its polycentricism (i.e. it fashioned itself as a center among and above multiple centers). While asserting that it had inherited the Rome through the articulation of Constantinople, it also diluted the severity of any, single, indexical value being associated with the word that could have been abrasive to its interest. Despite appearances, the linguistic and rational assimilations were congruent, and served to reinforce (and demonstrate) the Hamidian state's authoritarian use of each to govern a diverse constituency. Diversity was not an obstacle to becoming an Ottoman, so long as the Ottoman state was the entity to which one owed exclusive political loyalty. It mattered less how the polycentric city was indexed, so long as it was recognized and acknowledged that the State could index its own orientation as he final authority of each of the various manifestations.

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[298] Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, 40.

[299] The Constitution had articulated proficiency in Turkish as a prerequisite for holding public office, but this can be understood to be an administrative language rather than a national one.

Premodernity: Morphological and Demographical Features

The Ottomans state inherited Istanbul's pre-modern urban infrastructure as much as its signifiers. It added new ones to each, with the ambition of legitimating the state's claimed authority over the city and its residents. Morphological and demographical Ottomanization of Istanbul's Byzantine base was achieved through accommodating re-new-ed growth—both organically and by dictate. Thus, a fish market in operation since the time of Andronicus II Paleologus (r. 1282-1328), would, by the last Ottoman century, be observed in the vicinity of the Valide Sultan Mosque and with a path that reached the Grand Bazaar.[300] By then, in the eyes of an observer who only saw the urban population divided amongst Turks, Greeks, Armenians, and Jews, the "venders [were], almost without exception Turks."[301] The city's features were manipulated in a manner that not only absorbed the pre-existing population, but also bided for their political allegiance. While the State encouraged the city's repopulation after conquest with an appeal to multi-religious migrants, it simultaneously ensured that preexisting elements would be overwhelmed by an influx of a new populace dominated by those whose loyalty was tied to the Ottoman state, and who professed a competing faith.

The Ottoman conquest of Istanbul entailed the entry of Islam into the gates of Eastern Christiandom. While conquest did not entail de-Christianization of Istanbul, it did require Muslim dominance in the city—not just demographically, but symbolically. Muslim dominance was promoted by the Ottoman contribution of mosques, which became the seeds of Islamic complexes, neighborhoods, and districts. To ensure the assertive capacity of Islam further, new-old legends materialized with emblematic manifestations and associations in the city's landscape. For example, the anecdote goes that according to the *umma*, "it was a conviction, from the time of the Prophet onward, that the conquest of Constantinople was predestined for them by God."[302] When the city fell to Mehmet II's forces in 1453, the Ottoman achievement was tied to the *umma*'s prophecy. Mehmet II circulating 'Islambol' expressed his will to transform the city into one of the centers of the *Dar-ul-Islam*. This intention was further stressed with the 'invented tradition' of girdling at the (presumed) burial site of the prophet's companion Abu Ayyub (Eyüp) al-Ansari,

[300] De Amicis, *Constantinople*, 123–125.
[301] Ibid., 123.
[302] Halil İnalcık, "Istanbul: an Islamic City," in *Essays in Ottoman History* (Istanbul: Eren, 1998), 249.

> outside the city walls at the northern end of the Golden Horn ... who is believed to have died there during the siege of the city in 672. A mosque and tomb built in this district by Mehmed II the Conqueror became an important ceremonial centre.[303]

Mehmed was grooming the House of Osman for the custodianship of Islam, which transpired when Selim I conquered the Islamic Holy Lands of Mecca and Medina, along with the caliphate, in 1517. Such achievements were among the contributions to successive Ottoman sultans' abilities to be able to promote themselves as those "who waged war against infidelity and heresy, and without whose aid the faith and the holy law could not survive. In this formulation, the defence and implementation of the *shari'a* was dependent on the rule of the Ottoman sultan."[304] Istanbul thence became the seat of the two highest (Sunni) Islamic figures: the Sultan-Caliph and the *Şeyhülislam*. Neither resided in the outskirts, but in the center they had claimed.

The 'Islamization' of Istanbul occurred in conjunction with the actuality that the city remained the capital of Eastern Orthodoxy, as it had been since the fourth century. The Patriarch of Constantinople was in Fener, where, according to some perceptions, "ancient Byzantium has taken refuge."[305] The Armenian patriarch and the *Hahambaşı*, the Chief Rabbi (an office also allegedly instituted by Mehmet II), addressed their respective faithful from Istanbul. Despite the House of Osman claiming the caliphate, ruling within an Islamic framework (customized with *kanun*), and proclaiming the capital as a center of the Muslim world, the city nevertheless was the capital of three faiths—all of which had a prominent and active constituency within the walls of the city. Neither was Istanbul's Islamization consistently Islamic. It was within the confines of established Islamic jurisprudence for Beyazıt II (r. 1447-1512) to open the gates of the city to an influx of Spanish Jews escaping the *Reconquista*. It was, however, contrary to these principles that the city acquired churches and synagogues from which previously non-existent non-Muslim districts grew. While the *dhimmi* ('people of the book') were to be protected and granted the liberty to worship according to their own customs in their own houses of God, they were not traditionally allowed to construct new places of worship after being integrated into *Dar-ul-Islam*. Notwithstanding, every church and synagogue in Ottoman Istanbul after the city's 'Islamization' functioned

[303] Murat Gül, *The Emergence of Modern* Istanbul, 8
[304] Colin Imber, *Ebu's-su'ud: The Islamic Legal Tradition* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 2009), 74.
[305] De Amicis, *Constantinople*, 71.

through the permission and protection of Ottoman volition.[306] They were seeds of new non-Muslim neighborhoods. Thus the practical implications of the theory that at the juncture of incorporation, "while an area of a city of non-Muslims who had submitted to a Muslim state was accepted as, administratively, a part of Islamic territory, its ultimate Islamization remained a constant hope,"[307] remain unclear in the Ottoman case. Neither is it obvious whose hope this was, as there is little evidence to suggest that this 'ultimate Islamization' was the State's ambition. The Ottomans did not pursue 'Islamization,' beyond governing in a framework of institutionalized inequality between Muslims and non-Muslims, until the nineteenth century Tanzimat reforms.

The nineteenth-century pursuit of 'Ottomanism' drastically altered the identity of individuals, their relationship to the State, and the urban landscape and fabric of the capital city. Prior to this juncture, Ottoman legal categorization of subjects was carried out according to religion. Subjects were Muslims, *dhimmi*, or non-Muslim foreigners.[308] A similar method of categorization articulated the particulars of land ownership. Registered as *öşrî*, *haracî*, or *mirî*, land either belonged to Muslims, non-Muslims, or the State, respectively.[309] Such differentiation had crucial implications for the State in terms of revenue—non-Muslims paid *cizya* (a head-tax), in conformity with the *Shari'a.*[310] Visible othering, which, "for instance, determined the color codes for non-Muslims, stipulating which color of robe or shoe a scriptuary was forbidden to wear, such as bright green robes or yellow shoes,"[311] was also codified by the State (again, until the nineteenth century). Aside from these, an overarching rational and universal legal framework for everyday affairs applicable to all subjects was absent from the Ottoman mode of administration. This is reflective of the Ottoman mode of government until the era of centralization, in the era that commenced with the reign of Mahmud II (1808-1839). Prior to this, the government provided basic necessities (e.g. protection) and allowed communal disputes to be resolved locally internally, through religious authorities. The interests of none had yet been tied to the interest of the State.

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[306] Cyrus Hamlin, *Among the Turks* (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1878), 24.
[307] İnalcik, *"Istanbul: an Islamic City*," 253.
[308] Şükrü Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire* (Oxford: Princeton UP, 2008), 29.
[309] Ibid., 20.
[310] The implications of this supports the argument that the Ottomans were not heavily invested in conversion, as it would have severely reduced revenues in a state that was until the end of the nineteenth century heavily populated with non-Muslims.
[311] Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, 29.

Residence patterns of premodern Istanbul reflected collectivities based on religious persuasion. The extent to which communities were isolated from one another remains arguable. Neither does compartmentalization of the city and its residents necessitate that the State's identity and rhythm was solely and forcefully driven by Islamic doctrine. It remains difficult to ascertain to which extent religious residential communalism was state-sponsored. While the State seems to have encouraged basic visual markers for the religious adherence of its subjects (e.g. sartorial regulations, animals that were allowed to be owned, etc.), it is difficult to gauge to which degree it enforced the hypothetically insurmountable walls that sectionalized the city, closing off one religious community from another, and creating the memory of Istanbul as a segregated society. Aside from this being strictly the result of the will and imposition of the State, the Ottoman city could have also urbanized in this manner, because, as in all preindustrial societies, the primary marker of identity and authority within a given community was religious rather than civic. Determining the State as the absolute arbiter of residence pattern denies the city's residents agency to have chosen to live in the proximity of those with whom they shared common affiliation with, in the context of a decentralized framework where the government was often absent. The argument that the religious *laissez-faire*-ism pursued by the State may have resulted in the instinctive development of settlement patterns that kept individuals with a shared religious identity in the same community is not a quixotic one. Residing in close proximity to secular representatives of the sacred, who were also dispute moderators, was also practical. State regulation can coexist with personal agency; the two can impact one another without defining one another.

Residence patterns being reflective of religious collectivities created a premodern urban landscape consisting of a patchwork of neighborhoods and districts that branched out of churches, mosques, and synagogues. Not without exceptions, these communities were intrinsically defined by faith. By their very nature, they developed out of monumental cores that were not only based on the most common and imperative feature of the community, but also granted access to those who would implement (divine) justice: the mosque, synagogue, or church. The religious and legal authorities operated within an organizational hierarchy. Depending on their position within the structure, they were granted the power to resolve minor disputes locally in their capacity as representatives their faith's institution within the Ottoman dominions. These were dynamics that did not change in the era of reform. Late-nineteenth century foreign observers noted that the Patriarch, like other *dhimmi* leaders, "in addition to his spiritual

office, was the civil chief of his community…a recognized officer of the civil government."[312] Until the Tanzimat reforms introduced mixed courts, except for moments of intercommunal tension, the *dhimmi* self-governed on a micro and macro level—nevertheless, final submission was to the State. Local religious authorities throughout the dominions were responsible to their respective leaders in Istanbul. The ultimate arbiters of justice for each religious community were each protected by the Ottoman sultan, and, by the very nature of the description of roles in this relationship, were his innate subordinates.

Residential groupings according to religion did not render Istanbul cleanly divided. It is in this regard that the argument for the State-imposed religio-hierarchical urban stratification of Istanbul must be approached skeptically. Pre-nineteenth century residence patterns in Istanbul reveals a city whose overall composition consisted of mostly-homogenous religious enclaves that did not necessarily border others of their kind. In fact there are some quite paradoxical and counterintuitive settlement patterns around some urban monuments and landmarks. For the sake of example, one can consider the practical aspects of the fact that one of "the largest Jewish cemeteries in Constantinople"[313] was in a 'Christian' neighborhood. Accordingly, Istanbulite Jews from diverse origins within the capital would have had to traverse to and across one of the city's Christian neighborhoods in order to perform the rituals of their faith. This would have necessitated borders that could have been transcended by 'outsiders.' Perhaps more importantly, it would have presented a contact-zone between those who were stationary residents in the Christian neighborhood (along with its non-resident ir-/regulars), the mobile Jewish community, the latter's stationary landmark, and everywhere in between the various origins of the Jewish community, the Christian neighborhood, and the ritual point.

Residence patterns are not dictated by religion, alone. Among others, class and non-religious cultural affinities factor into neighborhood profiles. Furthermore, Istanbul was not made up of three or four or five strictly and religiously compartmentalized (and insulated) neighborhoods. The city was a complex patchwork of micro-settlements inhabited by groups exhibiting shared cultural variables and constants, which included religious persuasion. If one is looking at pre-Tanzimat Istanbul with an eye for religious segregation, s/he is bound to find it. What is often missed in the process, however, is the

[312] Hamlin, *Among the Turks*, 24.
[313] De Amicis, *Constantinople*, 116.

contact zone. Whether or not, or to which extent, this urban layout was the intention of the State, what emerges by the middle of the nineteenth century is that segregation and observable distinction based on religious persuasion was no longer the State's priority—most evident from the fact that the state apparatus had, itself, relocated to the 'infidel' zone, across the . Despite this shift and its visible manifestations symptomatic of Ottoman modernization, outsider observers resisted de-segregation and persisted in recording their version of the city in neatly-ethno-religiously-compartmentalized, premodern, terms. This version of the city endured as a staple of the metanarrative even beyond the Hamidian regime, through the 'end of empire.'

The City, Through Foreign Eyes

Due to the Orientalist's taste for travelogues, Great Power nationals were the ones who penned most surviving foreign accounts of late-nineteenth-century Ottoman Istanbul. For them, the city was almost invariably Constantinople. Whether an ephemeral visitor or indefinite settler, and despite their insistence on the strictly compartmentalized nature of the city, they had access to Istanbul's neighborhoods—they recorded their museum inspired impressions of all of them. In this manner, their own texts challenged their assertions about the nature of the city. Rather than being a textual representation of neat and distinct groupings of identities (and their material extensions), more often than not the scene they described was mesmerizing confusion. De Amicis saw an urban silhouette in which he observed

> …among the Turkish dwelling-houses European palaces rise suddenly up, spires overtop the minarets…roofs of Chinese kiosks appear above the façade of a theatre…side by side with open balconies and terraces are found Moorish buildings with recessed windows and small forbidding doorways. Shrines to the Madonna are set up beneath Arabian archways; tombs stand in the courtyards…mosques, synagogues, Greek, Catholic, Armenian churches, crowd one upon the other, as though each were striving for the mastery…[314]

Contemporary vestiges of Ottoman monuments attest that the above description of De Amici's was more representative of Istanbul than the accounts that insisted on the division of Istanbul and the assertion that Stamboul was Muslim, and, across the Golden Horn was where the Christians resided, which is, incidentally, also how De Amici sometimes described the city.[315] Thus, narrators were prone to self-contradictions.

[314] De Amicis, *Constantinople*, 37-38.
[315] Ibid., 61-62.

In reading Hamidian Istanbul through foreigners' accounts, one encounters the previously detailed segregated city and the physical clustering of 'minority' populations into certain districts according to religion. The same observers' accounts of the social interactions and the urban, material, makeup of the city are often also the testimonies to their counterargument, however. There existed in Istanbul districts whose residents were overwhelmingly Muslim, Jewish, Armenian, Greek, or Frankish to the degree that Fener was described as the Greek quarter, Balat, the Jewish "Ghetto,"[316] Kasımpaşa the Muslim district, and Kumkapı the Armenian. Such labels were subject to (sometimes extremely lenient) exceptions that they were consistently denied. In Istanbul it was possible to,

> ... at every street-corner, ... come upon a new race or religion…pass among tombs and mosques, churches and synagogues…encounter handsome Armenian women with fine matronly figures, slender Turkish ones who steal a look at you through their veils; all around you hear Greek, Armenian, Spanish—the Spanish of the Jews.[317]

Multi-denominational sharing of space amongst Istanbul's population was accelerated with the Tanzimat and intensified with the legal reforms that the Hamidian state inherited, which had eliminated visual distinction among Ottomans and had declared them equal before the law—at least, nominally—regardless of race or creed. Rose Chamber and Reform Edicts, the Nationality Law and the Constitution reinforced the State's attempts to legally assimilate all constituents of the nation-under-formation. The Hamidian regime continued along this path with education.

To whatever degree segregated residence patterns were an accurate reflection of social realities prior to the Hamidian era, they could no longer be claimed as official state-impositions in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Furthermore, community patterns had already begun to markedly alter in the preceding century. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries mixed the Ottoman population—minority, majority, local, and foreign—to a greater degree than theretofore observed (or acknowledged). Edhem Eldem, notes that in the eighteenth century, residence patterns had "peripheralized"[318] the traditional center of Istanbul (into what he terms the "no man's land")[319] and created communities that were more diverse than ever before.[320] Neither

[316] De Amicis, *Constantinople*, 72.
[317] Ibid., 115.
[318] Eldem, *The Ottoman City*, 157.
[319] Ibid.
[320] Ibid.

were such trends limited to the plebeian. In a move that has been interpreted as "not innocent… [since it] reflected the symbolism embodied in the western style of these new imperial buildings as well as in their location in the quarter most identified with a western presence and influence"[321]—the literal 'house(s) of Osman,' too, were relocated from Stamboul and across the Golden Horn.

The Golden Horn, a Demarcation between the Faithful and Infidel

Of the aforementioned appellations that designated Istanbul and its various parts, there was a distinction made by nineteenth-century Europeans between Stamboul and Constantinople. Galata and Pera were a part of Constantinople, and were presumed to be the European quarters. Though a short walk away from each other on the wooden Galata Bridge, "how far away they seem[ed]! [... from] Stamboul."[322] Stamboul was associated with "wood, poverty, and decay, filled with dirt, wretchedness and misery."[323] It belonged to 'Turks,' who were patronizingly described to be pure, sorrowful, and more Oriental. Edmondo de Amicis, for example, found Stamboul to be somber and silent. It was a place that was "Eastern in its strictest sense."[324] There,

> everything breathes of jealousy and suspicion…[it is where] laughter and people appear and disappear, windows and doors open and shut, all motion is a hallucinated glimmer in a sea of stillness and melancholy that is assumed to characterize the Turkish way of life.[325]

Alas, it was, again, these neighborhoods, hoping to encounter "a favorite beauty of some harem… [that he, instead, was confronted with a] European lady in bonnet and train."[326] Over the course of the foreign visitors' museum of life on an "entirely Turkish"[327] street, one found it hard to "believe ... when a large car rolls gayly into sight over some tracks which up to that moment ... not noticed, filled with Turks and Europeans."[328] Istanbul, lived, was inevitably more complex than Constantinople, imagined, hence the inconsistencies that permeate the accounts of those prepared for one version of the city.

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[321] Eldem, *The Ottoman City*, 202.
[322] De Amicis, *Constantinople*, 67.
[323] Ibid
[324] Ibid., 61.
[325] Ibid., 62.
[326] Ibid., 63.
[327] Ibid.
[328] Ibid.

One sees in the contradictory accounts of Europeans in Istanbul traces of their preconceived notions tainting their field of vision. Most such accounts of the Galata Bridge, connecting what is assumed to be Muslim/Turkish Stamboul to the '*Frengistan*' of Pera are similar. They described a zone that was a visual carnival,

> …thronged with an endless stream of human beings of every race and country, passing to and fro unceasingly from morning till night. It was like glancing through an ever-changing kaleidoscope to watch the motley crowd surging across it: Greeks, Armenians, Circassians, Arabs, Tatars, Persians, Albanians, Montenegrins and Turks, in every style of native costume or military uniform; some walking, some on horseback, others riding donkeys or mules, or driving in arabas or carriages. Beggars lined each side of the bridge, exposing their leprosy-covered limbs, while street dogs prowled around vendors of pistachio nuts and Turkish Delight.[329]

Comparing the above description by an Englishwoman who lived in Istanbul for the entirety of the Hamidian regime with that of Edmondo de Amicis, one does not come across too many differences. Traversing the bridge of Galata, de Amicis describes what was laid before his eyes as "a mixture of race and dress you never conceived before."[330] He noted Turks, Armenians, Bedouins, Greeks, dervishes, European ambassadors, Persian regiments, Druses, Kurds, Maronites, Telemans, Pumacs, Kroats, Hebrews, Catholic priests, Sisters of Charity, nuns of the Stigmata, Jesuits, African slaves, eunuchs, Albanians, Tatars, Jewesses, Maltese, a French "*cocotte*" [flirt], Russians, Circassians, Syrians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Egyptians, Tunisians, Wallachians, Ukrainians and Georgians.[331] Each was clad in either traditional garb or the "latest phase of Parisian fashion…between the rich clothing on the one hand and the miserable rags on the other."[332] There were children and adults, both men and women; their colors of their skin ranged "from the milk-white Albanian to the jet-black slave of Central Africa."[333] The bridge was described as being occupied by "the beautiful and…the horrible…a pilgrimage of decayed races and humbled nations."[334] Each was passing the other without notice, acknowledgment, or a second look.[335]

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[329] Dorina L. Neave, *Twenty-Six Years on the Bosphorus* (London: Grayson & Grayson, 1933), 46.
[330] De Amicis, *Constantinople*, 46.
[331] Ibid., 51.
[332] Ibid., 48, 53.
[333] Ibid., 53.
[334] Ibid., 54-57.
[335] Ibid., 45-57.

Few visitors to the city noted diversity that was not racial. Mark Twain, who saw the city as an "eternal circus,"[336] and, indeed, described it as such, saw more than an ethnic medley. He compared the deformities that were to be observed in the various cities he had visited in Italy with those in Constantinople, for example. He began with a hypothetical scenario, i.e. "[i]f you want dwarfs—I mean just a few dwarfs for a curiosity—go to Genoa,"[337] and the stream of thought came full circle with

> [...] but if you want to see the very heart and home of cripples and human monsters, both, go straight to Constantinople. A beggar in Naples who can show a foot which has all run into one horrible toe, with one shapeless nail on it [...] would not provoke any notice in Constantinople. The man would starve. Who would pay any attention to attractions like this among the rare monsters that throng the bridges of the Golden Horn and display their deformities in the gutters of Istanbul? O, wretched impostor! [...] Bismillah! The cripples of Europe are a delusion and fraud.

Twain then continued with the specifications of what he witnessed on the bridges and "the byways of Pera and Istanbul."[338] Whatever diversity was described—Galata Bridge, or elsewhere—the problem was that these individuals who colored the travelers' accounts were denied belonging in the city. They were not given a place, for example, in sections that described the inhabitants of the city. Residence in the sultan's dominions was understood to be "residence among Bulgarians, Greeks, Albanians, Turks, and Armenians."[339] Bulgarians and Albanians were a generous addition to an otherwise much narrower description of the city's inhabitants.

Contrary to the implications of the dichotomy existing between the two sides of the Golden Horn, the walk across the bridge (which is a passage, not a destination) represents an entry and an exit, from both Stamboul and Pera, of "human beings of every race and country."[340] It therefore signifies the collision and mixture of diverse lives and identities on both sides of the bridge that individuals like De Amicis so easily assigned distinct identities to, because they did not disassociate what they saw in Istanbul from what they had expected to see. Deep-seated continental prejudices were also reflected in the harshness with which they approached certain communities. After

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[336] Mark Twain, *The Innocents Abroad* (Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Classics, 2010), 230.
[337] Twain, *The Innocents Abroad*, 31.
[338] Ibid., 231.
[339] Fanney Jannet Blunt, *The People of Turkey: Twenty Years' Residence Among Bulgarians, Greeks, Albanians, Turks, and Armenians—By a Consul's Daughter and Wife, Vol. 1*, Stanley Lane-Poole ed. (London: John Murray,1878).
[340] Neave, *Twenty-Six Years on the Bosporus,* 46.

describing the neighborhood of Hasköy, an overwhelmingly Jewish neighborhood, de Amicis was not kind to the bearers of the burden of destitution;

> …on all sides dirty children covered with sores were rolling on the ground…men clad in long, dirty cloaks, with tattered handkerchiefs wound around their heads…thin, meager faces peered out of the windows as we went by…mud and litter everywhere…[341]

Hasköy was where many of those who came to Istanbul to escape persecution in Spain had settled in the sixteenth century. By the nineteenth century, similar to other areas where Jewish residents constituted the majority, Hasköy had suffered a decline in prosperity to the point that one could see poverty and filth on its streets. For De Amicis, this dire condition was one that Jews had brought upon themselves, by merely *being*, whereas historians have suggested this dearth to be a consequence of "structural changes caused by increasing ties with Europe."[342] These structural changes had resulted in tighter economic and political cooperation between the representatives of the Great Powers and Christian Ottomans, i.e. "Greeks and Armenians may have replaced prominent Jews in trade, fiscal and monetary matters during this century because Europe preferred to deal with Christians."[343] It becomes evident that De Amicis' interpretation of the Jewish 'condition' is more a reflection of deep-seated home state prejudices than an accurate representation of socio-economic circumstances within the Ottoman state.

Home state prejudices were persistent in long-term Great Power nationals that were generation 1.5 residents of the city, as well. One comes across a similar attitude by Dorina L. Neave Clifton, an English resident of Istanbul, who had been brought to the city at a young age because her father had secured a consular job through connections with a Mrs. and Mr. Hanson. The latter were economic migrants, they had come to the city "as a young married couple, set out from England to seek their fortunes in the East."[344] Clifton was a British resident of Istanbul until her twenty-sixth birthday, 26 August 1907, and wrote two *ex post facto* accounts of her impressions,[345] which is a veritable testament to the persistence of home state metanarratives, and their ability to infiltrate and shape perceptions.

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[341] De Amicis, *Constantinople*, 114.
[342] Saul, "The Mother Tongue of the Polyglot: Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism among Sepharadim of Istanbul," 329–330.
[343] Ibid.
[344] Dorina L. Neave, *Twenty-Six Years on the Bosporus* (London: Grayson & Grayson), 19.
[345] Her second monograph, published in 1949, is *Romance of the Bosporus: Reminiscences of Life in Turkey* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1949).

Clifton's views and accounts of Istanbul and its residents are reflective of the impressions manufactured and consumed in Britain. Despite the fact that she spent her most formidable years in Istanbul, her understanding of Istanbul's social dynamics are only slightly deeper than an ephemeral visitor who had never been exposed to Istanbul. This is not surprising, however, since her status and position in Istanbulite society depended on her maintaining her distinction from the local population. She lived in what she called a 'colony.' According to her recollection, the region of her family's residence, Kandilli, was a favorite amongst the British. Kandilli was also home to many less-accounted-for Armenian and French residents. The settlement was on neither side of the Golden Horn, but on the Asian side of Istanbul, across the Bosporus. Clifton's account does, nevertheless, demonstrate that the same foreigner perceptions of the city and its residents crossed land and water—and originated not in Istanbul, but across the continent. This is even more evident when one realizes that such Great Power colonies as Clifton's were, indeed, more isolated than any other 'segregated' district of Istanbul—by choice.

The pervasiveness of the Great Power metanarrative makes itself evident most profoundly in Clifton's descriptions of Turkish women. She finds their condition agonizingly desolate and thereby reveals herself to be both influenced by the narrative of her home state and simultaneously unaware of its utility in diverting attention away from the social and sexual repression women were contemporaneously subjected to in Victorian England. There are contradictions here, as well. Her memoirs are flooded with disappointment about women being confined to the home, but simultaneously illustrate resistance by 'Turkish'/Muslim women, who were "considered of so little account."[346] Those Clifton writes of continuously challenge cultural demands and social expectations—from engaging in innocent flirtation with her brothers, to dressing her up in Muslim attire, to sneaking their ways into being photographed, and much in between. Clifton's memoirs also affix to Istanbul the label of a segregated society without proving it. She recollects that Muslims and Turks were fearful being discovered in the company of foreigners and Christians. She explains, "under the sultan's espionage system Turks ran the risk of being arrested if they received visits from foreigners or were even seen talking to them, or if they entered a foreign embassy or consulate."[347] While it is true that Ottomans and foreigners were often placed under surveillance by

[346] Neave, *Twenty-Six Years*, 21.
[347] Ibid., 25.

the sultan who ruled "with a rod of iron"[348] there is little to support the assertion that interaction was crime enough for an accusation that would have 'inevitably' "entailed prison or death for the person renounced."[349] Abdülhamid's spies do not seem to have deterred meaningful exchange, or even intimacy, between those who were Ottoman and foreign. This is proven by Clifton' own recollections of the many Turkish friends whose company she kept—including the sultan's nephew.

Clifton's generalizations about 'Turks' are based on limited exposure to elites of Ottoman society who navigated a different set of restrictions than those she extended their experiences as a general condition to. The same is true for the predominantly Christian Ottomans with whom she had a more intimate relationship, since they shared her quarters as her domestic help. Others she had limited exposure to were those who were associated with Pera. Her (preferred) foreignness in Istanbulite society allowed her common ground with others who shared a similar experience. Pera was an opportunity for Great Power agents and representatives. In it, they were able to maintain a self-designated degree of anonymity all the while retaining their cultural supremacy. Despite the fact that many of them had ended up there for opportunities unavailable to them in their homelands, features of their identity that had previously contributed to their marginalization could allow for them to climb the social latter. Their superiority was reinforced by embellishments in Pera's urban landscape. The atmosphere blissfully hovering over 'Constantinople' was homage, a validation for Great Power national's self-proclaimed cultural claimed superiority. Progress could be observed in the cafes, theatres, and vice, the same symbols shunned by some contemporary Ottomans as symptoms of cultural degeneration.

Pera was repeatedly compared to a European metropolis—be it Paris or Vienna—while Stamboul was its Oriental other. The heavy concentration of foreign nationals and expatriates in Pera was not solely due to the perceived progress it embodied, however. Perhaps most importantly, it was because the embassies were located either in them, or within close proximity. Association with embassies guaranteed social and legal privileges for foreign nationals and foreignized members of the indigenous constituency capitulatory privileges. The social gatherings (e.g. balls) organized by the embassies were less significant than the fact that they symbolized the protection foreigners received by their home states whilst in Istanbul. In the words of one United States

[348] Neave, *Twenty-Six Years*, 25.
[349] Ibid.

national in Istanbul, such protection included rights of each foreign community in Istanbul to have "its place of worship, its mill and bakery, its consul, and the right to be tried by the consul… The foreigner is also secured against arrests and domiciliary visits."[350] Thus, rather than being forced to rescind there, as consuls and their entourage had been in the premodern era, the high concentration of Great Power economic migrants in Beyoğlu in the nineteenth and the early nineteenth century was due to the fact that *their* monumental cores were their embassies, networks, and secular and religious schools. One can gain an impression of the level of one foreign community's entrenchment into Istanbulite society, by evaluating such monumental cores.

Cultural Imperialist 'Colonies,' the French Example

Evaluating the presence of foreigners in the Ottoman capital in a manner that simultaneously tests the self-contained compartmentalization theory is through an analysis of the self-proclaimed colonies' modes of existence. Many members of the Great Power national colonies in Istanbul were driven to the Ottoman capital by economic incentives. Eldem discusses the central place French traders and merchants occupied by in the Galata market after having ousted Italians from dominance in "Istanbul: from imperial to peripheralized capital."[351] In the dynamics of trade networks of Istanbul, the French were able to claim and maintain ascendancy in the struggle for power and autonomy between local forces and the foreigners until the French Revolution.[352] By the end of the nineteenth century, though Britain had come to dominate economically, both the British and the French began to face fierce competition by Germany—vying, as of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, for both cultural, political, and economic influence. Eldem's study reveals that French traders had virtually no interaction with Muslims, and that it was "generally impossible for the French to communicate directly with them."[353]In seeking evidence for interaction, one thus transcends the trade network to discover that other occupations made it more possible for Great Power subjects to collide and 'communicate directly' with 'others.' The French, were not just traders. They were, among other things, also agents and disseminators of French culture, religion, and technology in the 'Orient'—in social

[350] Hamlin, *Among the Turks*, 25.
[351] Eldem, *The Ottoman City*.
[352] Ibid., 193.
[353] Ibid., 187.

fields that, by the nature of their undertaking, necessitated contact.[354] Due to Great Power competition, Istanbul became a zone of contestation. Britain was an economic and political forerunner, while the French and German dominated the cultural sphere.

French and German investment in their ongoing battle for cultural supremacy in the 'Orient' over the course of the Hamidian years was an enterprise that not only transported their nationals to the Ottoman domains and its capital city, but also made their agents' collision with the local population (and, each other) a requisite of the mission. One sphere in which this can be observed is in education. The linguistic competition underway in the religious and secular, foreign and state-ran, public and private, schools, was one filed in which stakes for spheres of influence were being hedged. One can evaluate the level of penetration through reports that colonies printed on their own activities. An example is the 1907 *La France à Constantinople* report on (and by) the French 'colony.' It was originally printed in the *Revue Commerciale du Levant* (the monthly periodical of the French Chamber of Commerce in Istanbul),[355] which included a report on the colony's educational activities. Records like *La France à Constantinople* are useful because they indicate the level of entrenchment of foreign institutional infrastructures operating within Ottoman domains, and therefore the presence of foreign administrators and educators. They are additionally informative because of what they reveal about the demographics, e.g. 'foreign' students were presumably attached to nuclear families settled in Istanbul. A French school does not prove to have been conceptualized into existence to benefit the French student, for example—they never made up a significant enough proportion of the student body.

French entered the Ottoman curriculum under the reign of Mahmud II. It was the State's initiative and was, at first, exclusively implemented in elite state schools. As the nineteenth century progressed, the language began to be taught in the classrooms of more and more secondary schools. By the time Abdülhamid's reign, French had become a major language, in both the cultural and pedagogical fields. The *Mekteb-i Sultani*, a state school, offered a science degree for which the curriculum was entirely in French. The infiltration of French language and culture did not please the domestic constituency

[354] Regarding non-Muslim interactions with Great Power agents, see, for example, Roderic H. Davison, "The *Millets* as Agents of Change in the Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire," in Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society* (London: Holmes and Meyer, 1982).

[355] "La France à Constantinople," *Revue Commerciale du Levant* (1906-07), reprinted as *La France à Constantinople ou Présence française dans la capitale ottomane au début du 20^{e} siècle* (Istanbul: Les Éditions Isis, 2002).

unanimously, however, since according to some late nineteenth-century Ottoman critiques of 'Westernization' and the *'Alafranga'* (e.g. Ahmed Midhat Efendi and Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem), it was also the language of pretension. Nevertheless, at the turn of the twentieth century, "a total of 62,336 students in the Ottoman state were recorded as learning French in various schools."[356] As previously stated, the French were not the only one of the Great Powers educating Ottomans and foreigners in Istanbul. The focus of this section being the French is simply meant to illustrate the degree to which they were successfully integrated into Istanbul's cultural fabric, yet simultaneously assertive of their difference. It must be kept in mind that British, American, German, and Italian education and institutions were also visible and present in Istanbul and elsewhere in the Ottoman world—even if they did often teach/in French.

The identity attributed to the target population is critical in the evaluation of language as a component of cultural imperialism. French educational institutions, both secular and religious, listed their student bodies in terms of nationality. These records reveal a noteworthy discrepancy between foreign individuals and their respective institutions vis-à-vis the indigenous population within the Ottoman dominions. They reflect the gap between the popular narrative dictated by the State and its apparatus to its populace, and the official discourse with which it conducted its affairs. In other words, while Great Power states geared their national individuals to regard members of the Ottoman constituency in ethno-religious and civilizational terms, their institutions categorized them in nationalized terms. It was not unusual, therefore, for a French-operated school to count 'Ottoman' pupils and classify them without further distinction. Thus, despite the fact that the Ottoman Christian constituency was the one to have the most contact—and privilege—with foreign colonies, the ambitions of the institutions prove to be broader.

Ottoman students constituted the greatest majority of pupils at each French school. As reported in the *Revue Commerciale du Levant* two years prior to the end of the Hamidian regime, i.e. 1906-1907, the French administered four secular and twenty-eight religious schools in Istanbul. Between the years 1872 and 1907, these schools taught an annually average of over 8,000 pupils belonging to eighteen nationalities and split (unevenly) over eight denominations of the Abrahamic religions.[357] Neither were

[356] Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 96.
[357] "La France à Constantinople," 35-61.

these statistics inclusive of a new organization that arrived in Istanbul in the nineteenth century: the French Roman Catholic congregation of *les frères Écoles Chrétiens*. The *les frères* initiated the process of establishing themselves in Ottoman domains in 1840. Their first branch was founded in Galata. By the end of the century, there were eight *les frères* schools dispersed around Istanbul (in Haydarpaşa, Pera, Feriköy, Galata, Taksim, Pancaldi, and two in Kadıköy). [358] By 1897, when *les frères* established their last school in Feriköy, the congregation was in charge of the education of 1,242 pupils in Istanbul.[359] Of the 1,735 combined pupils in 1906, Ottomans pupils constituted 670 of them, followed by Italians who constituted the second most populous nationality group with 278 pupils.[360] In fact, the 157 French nationals only came in fourth among the eighteen nationalities of the school listed (one was labeled '*divers'*). They followed the 242 Greek students. [361] By 1907, the numbers had reached 1,800.[362] The *les frères* could boast about impressive numbers and diversity of their student body, but they did not cater to the greatest number of pupils amongst the French institutions.

According to the *Revue* report, one of the most populous French schools of Istanbul was the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* (AIU) schools (with over 3,200 pupils in Istanbul at the turn of the century).[363] Despite the overwhelming majority of their pupils being of Jewish heritage, "contrary to public opinion,"[364] their student bodies included a meager sum of those who adhered to other faiths (e.g. the Galata branch had 39 non-Jewish students of a total of 760).[365] The AIU set up its first committee in Istanbul three years after being established in France in 1860. Soon after, it began establishing schools throughout the dominions. The internal politics of the AIU serves as microcosm for Great Power politics as they were expressed abroad. A German branch was also established in Istanbul, largely through the funds of S. H. Goldschmidt, in 1895. The Franco-German linguistic competition carried out in their Ottoman schools eventually exacerbated to the point that in the post-Hamidian years; "in 1911 the German section

[358] "La France à Constantinople," 46.
[359] Ibid.
[360] Ibid.
[361] There is ambiguity about the nationality of the Greek students, in that with the exception of one school, École Nationale Française, which specifies 15% of its Greeks being Hellenic and 10% of them being Ottoman ("La France à Constantinople," 35), schools seemed to opt for one label or the other without making it clear if the students are nationals of the Ottoman or the Hellenic staet.
[362] Ibid., 46.
[363] Ibid., 59.
[364] Ibid.
[365] Ibid.

broke totally away from the A.I.U. because the latter refused to change the language of instruction to German."[366] This competition extended beyond the realm of linguistic education and extended to the militaristic, technological, and scientific fields.

Germany carving itself a sphere of influence in the Orient in the years following its unification would not present a formidable threat to the French until the Young Turks Era, and the years immediately preceding the Great War. Over the course of the Hamidian regime they had become fierce competitors, nonetheless. This was observable from the struggle to teach German in Jewish schools to the symbolism inherent in Kaiser Wilhelm's fountain inauguration in Sultan Ahmet, in 1901. German cultural agents in Istanbul were clear, present, and competing. Despite their level of investment in the battle for cultural influence, however, they were still unable to effectively submerge French ascendancy until the Hamidan era came to a close. Until then, the French community in Istanbul could still report with self-satisfaction (despite being fewer in numbers than they had been in the 1850s) that their language was the one that was "taught in almost all of the schools in the capital."[367] The Germans and the Italians, who tried to "vigorously spread"[368] their languages in the 'Orient,' were left obliged, like their American and English counterparts, to also teach in French to be able to recruit pupils to their institutions.[369] This did not necessarily mean that the Germans or other states were unsuccessful in circulating their languages in the socio-cultural marketplace of the Ottoman capital. Istanbul was a polyglot and polycentric city and "were it not for the ever-present turban or fez, one would hardly know he was in the East at all. On every side is heard French, Italian, and Genoese."[370] Nevertheless, the French had triumphed when they ensured that their language would reach beyond the limits of popular discourse and through the walls of education institutions to a greater degree than their continental neighbors.

The French achieved parallel feats in the cultural-medical sphere with the arrival of the heirs of the Pasteurian revolution in Istanbul in the early 1880s. According to Anne Marie Moulin, the bacteriologists were agents of (a more noble) scientific imperialism—a form that she argues to have benefitted late Ottoman state and society,

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[366] Mahir Saul, "The Mother Tongue of the Polyglot: Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism among Sepharadim of Istanbul," *Anthropological Linguistics* 25, no. 3 (1983), pp. 334-335.
[367] "La France à Constantinople," 35.
[368] Ibid.
[369] Ibid.
[370] De Amicis, *Constantinople*, 88.

and aided its eventual transformation into modern nation state.[371] Much in the same way that the first French instructors arrived in the Ottoman capital nearly a century before, the Pasteurian doctors were invited at the request of the sovereign. Abdülhamid had reached out to them in the context of the 1893 cholera outbreak. Upon arriving in Istanbul, they built the *Bakteriyolojihane-i Osmani* (Ottoman Bacteriology Institute), and changed the medical field through actively leading research and public health, focusing on contagious diseases (e.g. cholera and rabies).[372] The cultural framework that Pasteurian doctors operated under in Istanbul resembled was similar to their *Alliance Israélite Universelle* compatriots, as was their vision for their mission in the capital. Dr. Maurice Nicolle was in charge of the post at the *Bakteriyolojihane*, and had been urged to render his services in Ottoman domains, one of the "little civilized places… [since it would be] good for French influence."[373] The need to assert 'French influence' innately assumed the existence of a challenge, which, in the 1890s, took the form of German influence as well as the domestic, Hamidian, center.

The culture of Istanbul was impacted by Great Power competition over spheres of influence with one another, along with the State that hosted them. Whether it was an increase in the number of doctors and engineers, or a linguistic shift, both those who were local and foreign had to adapt to dynamics that were perpetually shifting between the dominant, less-dominant, and non-dominant. The battle determined the number and types of people entering the Ottoman domains as agents of Great Powers. Once these individuals were integrated into the urban fabric of the city, they affected change in every aspect of what became a new collectivity, ranging from its mores to its financial capital. Competition within the Ottoman dominions, though often pervasive and exploitative, was also an opportunity for the Ottoman state. The Ottoman state could still benefit, more through choice rather than imposition, from some of the many 'changes' put at its disposal by Great Power representatives. Even if they were ultimately driven by their own cultural and individual interest, their science and technology could, in turn, be utilized for the interest of the State and thereby shape Ottoman modernization.

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[371] Anne Marie Moulin, "L'hygène dans la ville: la médicine ottomane à l'heure pastorienne, 1887-1908," in Paul Dumont and Francois Georgeon eds., *Villes Ottomanes à La Fin De l'Empire* (Paris: Editions L'Harmattan, 1992), 209.
[372] Ibid., 186.
[373] Ibid., 199.

The integration of French immigrants into Istanbulite society over the course of the Hamidian years was eased through the existence of established networks. Aside from the schools they could teach or have their children educated in, they had national hospitals (e.g. *l'Hôpital Français Henry Giffard du Taxim*) and expatriate societies. An example of the latter included the *Chambre de Commerce de Française de Constantinople* and the *Société Française de Secours Mutuels* (est. 1873), which had an Italian counterpart. The *Société* provided services in matters ranging from free medication for minor maladies to midwives to aid delivery for expecting mothers,[374] to the self-proclaimed French 'colony' whose members were self-professed to be "active, organized, and economical"[375] for a subscription fee of five francs per month (as of 1907)[376] The French also had a press in Istanbul, the *Imprimerie Française*.

The press was a heavily contested zone. Given the dominance of French language and culture in Istanbul, active subscribers and regular readers of French newspapers included the domestic Ottoman educated elite. The British press was an active contender for power over information, and sometimes the two even shared the page, e.g. the *Oriental Advertiser* was a dual language production; circulation figures for the Anglo-French weeklies were 25,000, and, dailies, 20,000.[377] German entry into the press of Istanbul occurred in conjunction with the assertion of German presence in other realms. The rise of German colonial ambitions in the 1890s occurred in conjunction with a boost in its press in Istanbul. German periodicals included *Osmanischen Post* (1890-1895), *Konstantinopler Handelsblatt* (1896-), and *Osmanischer Llyod* (1908-1919). Home state priorities were not only brought into the Ottoman domains in the form of news, however. They also took the form of currency. Transactions within the expatriate community, especially in Pera, could be conducted in French currency, and were not limited to an exchange of services but also included mutual aid societies, endowments and charities, some of which gathered donations and subscription fees from members to send back to France (e.g. *Section Constantinople de la Dotation de la Jeunesse de France de Paris*), indicating not only a sense of immigrant attachment to the home country, but also evidences that the French expatriate community in Istanbul was financially secure enough to spend on 'causes' in addition to subsistence.

[374] "La France à Constantinople," 80.
[375] Ibid.
[376] Ibid.
[377] Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914*, 96.

The sense of attachment the French immigrants felt to their country of origin, i.e. 'long-distance nationalism,' was also reflected in their lifestyles—e.g. eating and shopping patterns, the types of entertainment they sought, what they read, etc. The *Grande Rue de Péra*, from Taksim through *Yüksek Kaldırım* was lined with European shops. The French alone, catered to every possible need. The owned pharmacies (e.g. N° 116, *la Pharmacie Parisiene* run by M.J. César Rebou of the *l'École Supériore de Paris*), and shops that sold clothing (e.g. Madame Louise Rochet at N° 175), flowers (e.g. N°249, *Leduc*), jewelry (e.g. N°383, *la Maison Vartan*), French wine and food (e.g. N° 463, *Société des Producteurs de France*), confectioners (e.g. 76 *Yüksek Kaldırım*, run by W. Choré), and bookshops (e.g. 6 *Rue Sagh*, run by M. L. Roy). Such shops were not just in '*Frengistan*.' They were also across the bridge that had come to represent the zone of demarcation between 'Muslim' and 'infidel,' and could be found in Stamboul—(e.g. M.A.N. Moussat at 25 *Yeni Cami*).[378] Given prices being equal, the French residents of Istanbul preferred to purchase from their compatriots.[379]

French immigrant presence reached far and wide in Istanbul, touching every layer of urban life. The French owned shops restaurants and hotels, worked in finance and banks (perhaps, most importantly, the general director of the Imperial Ottoman Bank was a Frenchmen, M. J. Deffès).[380] They were dentists, doctors, veterinarians, financiers, midwives, architects, lawyers, engineers, teachers, pupils, nuns, priests, and journalists. They served and were served. Culturally, politically and demographically, their presence certainly had an impact on Istanbul. Beyond that, however, like any other component of it—minority or majority, dominant or non-dominant—their presence also defined the city. Like every other community, they changed Istanbul, and Istanbul changed them.

The City, Lived

Nineteenth century Istanbul was a complex city of interlinked communities that were shaped by socio-economic, political, cultural, ideological, and international circumstances. Great Power nationals were one among many others—whether fishmongers, sex workers, or state bureaucrats—that made modern Istanbul. The above section has given particular attention to one foreigner niche within the city. The French

[378] "La France à Constantinople," 6–11.
[379] Ibid., 11.
[380] Ibid., 19.

experience that has been highlighted has illustrated that French nationals, expatriates, or exiles in Istanbul were living in a city that was hospitable to them on several levels. They had an existence in Ottoman lands that was both imposed and invited; they made an impact and were impacted. Capitulatory privileges guaranteed to them by their home state granted them the privilege to live above Ottoman law and avoid Ottoman taxes, all the while some among of them managed the Ottoman bank and Ottoman debt (through the Public Debt Administration, created in 1881). Their homeland associations also frequently elevated them above Ottoman society due to the civilizational narratives that were propagated to all, and subscribed to by beneficiaries. Those with capitulatory privileges traded at more favorable rates than Ottomans in their own lands. They educated Ottoman students at their own schools, and in their own language. Amongst themselves, members of the 'colony' who, at times, preferred the fictitious purity of their homogenous company spoke French, went to French doctors and dentists, read French newspapers. They bought French food and fashion from French shopkeepers, in francs. Most of them were concentrated in a particular area of the city—across the Golden Horn—because proximity to their monumental cores, e.g. their embassy and preexisting networks, guided their residence patterns.

Visible French foreigners were heavily concentrated in Pera—an area that yielded subsidies for being visibly pseudo-/French. French residents of Istanbul, like any other component of the city's demography, did not just live on one or the other side of Golden Horn, however. They were sought in *Frengistan* and therefore assumed to reside there. It thus follows that they were most easily observed in Pera and its surrounding regions. They also lived in Stamboul and across the Bosporus. Dorina Clifton's memoirs attest to French residents in the English 'colony's' settlement of Kandilli. De Amicis also writes about the change of demographics on the other side of the Golden Horn. Stamboul,

> … once entirely Turkish, [Stamboul] is assailed on all sides by settlements of Christians …[a] conquest … [of] churches, hospitals, palaces, public gardens, schools, and factories are rending asunder the Mussulman's quarters, encroaching upon his cemeteries, and advancing from one height to another, until already, on the dismayed soil, there are sketched the vague outlines of another European city.[381]

[381] De Amicis, *Constantinople*, 39.

In the nineteenth century a new Ottoman middle class emerged from educational reforms that catered to a centralizing, rationalizing, and expanding bureaucracy. The schools of Istanbul, including those aforementioned, formed the new intelligentsia whose members were fluently versed in French out of necessity (e.g. if working at the Translation Bureau) and desire (e.g. if they were sentimentally attached to the culture). Some among them "looked admiringly to Europe and began to imitate European manners and to dress himself in French clothes in the name of progress."[382] For others, such behavior was a symptom of the disease of social degeneration. For the latter, the *Frengistan* of Beyoğlu had come to be representative of "a poison within the heart of Istanbul."[383] Regardless of their level of approval or disapproval or 'Frenk'[384] culture, however, what remains crucial is that core and non-core constituency residents of Ottoman Istanbul interacted with Pera and its cultural milieu, both directly and indirectly. Admirers and critics, alike, were residents of, visitors to, employed in, and contested over the space and formed the identity of this part of the city the 'European' memory of which has underemphasized their contribution to.

Image II.II

Istanbul of the late-nineteenth century was a complex organism of interactions whose character was continually mutating according to the various negotiations occurring between and amongst a multitude of Ottoman and foreign identities colliding

[382] Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914*, 97.
[383] Boyar and Fleet, *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul*, 319.
[384] This word was used to describe European foreigners.

within it. Understanding the human dimension of this interaction does not only give one a valuable impression of what it was like to be an immigrant to late nineteenth century Istanbul. It also forces one to reconsider some historical presumptions about the State and how it envisioned its relationship with its real and potential populace. The period covered here is only one section of a nineteenth century Ottoman Istanbul world that has been neatly divided into three well-defined epochs in the historiography: the Tanzimat, the Hamidian Regime, and the Young Turk Era have been associated with equalization, Islamization, and Turkification, respectively. Studying the lives of immigrants, who arrived in one epoch but remained through regime changes, will additionally provide a new lens from which to observe what remained constant and what was altered. The aforementioned identifiers of the epochs are not arbitrarily assigned, and each holds some credence. Nevertheless, an analysis Ottomans and their constructed others will inevitably blur some lines and complicate our understanding of the Ottoman government and the city that was its capital. The following chapters aim to achieve this through the 'others' of the visible 'others' who were the concern of the present chapter. Namely, the forthcoming focus is foreigners that have hitherto been rendered invisible, if for no other reason, because they were not expected to be seen.

"The Muslim Woman...
Is the veil an indication of women's enslavement, or their freedom's guarantor?"[385]

Transcending Borders, Negotiating Identities: the Émigré Woman

The previous chapter's focus on the dynamics of the visible Great Power foreigners of Istanbul simultaneously established that migration into the Ottoman dominions was not gender-specific. In the 'Age of Mobility' with which the Hamidian era coincided, greater numbers of individuals were thrust into motion than ever before. The Ottoman territories were destination for voluntary migrants, seeking to better their lots through opportunities that existed beyond their birth lands, and a refuge for forced/involuntary or impelled migrants who were, ultimately, obliged to seek belonging elsewhere out of necessity.[386] Those who are the subject of this research are voluntary migrants. Because of the Industrial Revolution's technological developments, their numbers proliferated as travel became more efficient and affordable than ever before. Women's migration was prompted by a number of factors—many were the same as those that inspired men. Among others, economic opportunity, a quest for anonymity, and missionary activity were sought in the 'Orient' by both genders. Some opportunities were more gender-specific. Home education and sex-work, for example, were sectors that overwhelmingly

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[385] M. Ferid Vecdi, "Müslüman Kadını, Dokuzuncu Fasıl: Tesettür Kadınların Nişane-i Esaretimidir, Yoksa Zamin-i Hürriyetimidir?" Mehmed Akif trans., *Sırat-ı Müstakim* (Ekim 1324 [Oct./Nov. 1908]), 173.

[386] The difference between forced and impelled migration is that the former occurs "only when a person is physically transported from a country and has no opportunity to escape from those transporting him. Movement under threat, even the immediate threat to life, contains a voluntary element as long as there is an option to escape to another part of the country, go into hiding, or to remain and hope to avoid persecution," see Alden Speare, Jr., "The Relevance of Models of Internal Migration for the Study of International Migration," in Georges Tapinos ed., *International Migration: Proceedings of a Seminar on Demographic Research in Relation to International Migration* (Paris: CICRED, 1974), 89. Much of the debate surrounding the particularities of what forced *versus* voluntary migration entails is traced to the manner in which states and institutions need to categorize and/or treat asylum-seekers in the contemporary era. Thus, *where there exists an element of choice*, some of those who are currently categorized as forced migrants (i.e. refugees, asylum seekers, internally displaced persons, development-induced, environmental, and disaster induced displaced, and those who are either smuggled and trafficked) may also fit the definition of impelled migrants, see William Petersen, *Population* (New York: Macmillan, 1975). The great majority of migrants in the Hamidian era that would be characterized as involuntary/impelled migrants according to today's categorizations were refugees from the former territories that relocated as communities. In these cases, there is not a severe discrepancy between the numbers of men and women, e.g. the proportion was 1:1.24 (respectively) for those displaced by the Crimean War, between 1861–64. This estimate is based upon Karpat's figures for those years, "101,605 women and 126,002 men," see Karpat, *Ottoman Population, 1830 – 1914 Demographic and Social Characteristics*, 66.

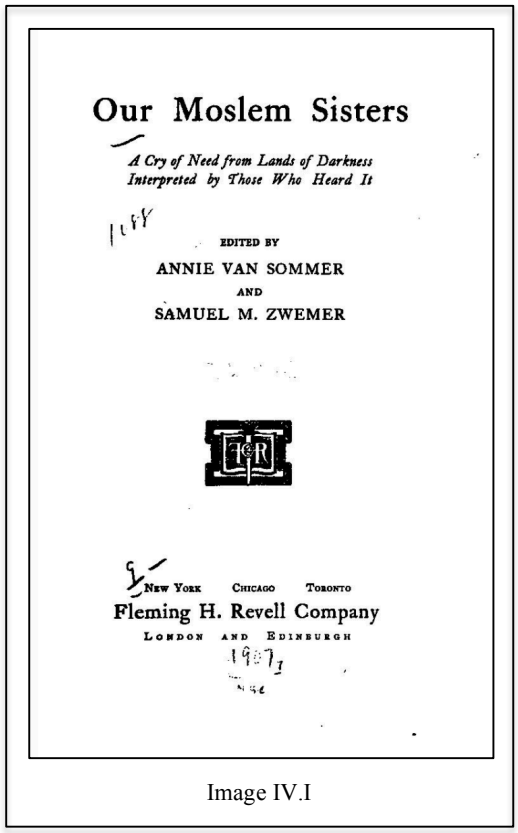
recruited women (though, not exclusively). Furthermore, industries like these often recruited women in solitude. What was remarkable in the nineteenth century was the density of women's presence in foreign lands rather than the (timeless) forces driving their relocation. Those among them who were visible Great Power foreigners and chose to retain the 'purity' of their cultural identities by restricting their primary associations to self-designated and insulated colonies were able to reap material benefits from extraterritoriality. They simultaneously boosted their chances at social mobility because of the opportunities provided by being perceived to be the embodiment the superior 'difference' their home states' cultural mission. Visible Great Power nationals contributed to the making of Hamidian national image because the State had to account for the possibility of their integration into the Ottoman constituency—the Nationality Law gave them equal access to membership, though some did not find an appeal in being Ottomans. Not all resident-foreigners in the capital chose to maintain their home-state allegiances as their primary identifiers, however. Many ventured beyond their 'colonies.' They have left behind enough evidence to reveal their conditions and opportunities, both in their 'home states' and 'host states.' The State's reception of single women who rejected their home states and adopted the Ottoman one, for example, further serves as a useful prism unto the State's self-image as well as its vision for the future of its nation-under-construction—especially considering the fact that the Hamidian government provided for some of them with what can be categorized as 'citizen-benefits' prior to their naturalization, anticipating their future legal assimilation.

Great Power Women, Suspended

Nineteenth-century Great Power women were suspended between their collective reality and a new ideal. The thesis of equality permeated the emergent ideals of the 'Revolutionary Era.' Alas, the lives lived by the women who were members of the societies that championed this cause bore little semblance to its eventual, or even potential, manifestation. Meanwhile, they were asked to consume the myth of belonging to a superior civilization. The egalitarian discourse of the 'Revolutionary Age' led to a reconsideration of some of the basic features of 'Western society.' Perhaps the most significant and profound consequence of the shift was abolitionism—slavery could no longer be reconciled with the new intellectual and moral consensus.[387] Perhaps ironically, however, race theories found a new appeal in the same period. Furthermore,

[387] See Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770 – 1823*.

the same vocabulary was utilized to refer to almost all 'natives' of all of the *different* lands encountered in the 'Age of Exploration,' and beyond. In the post-abolition age, the generic 'native' characterization was still applicable to the manumitted, who were not described in terms much different from those describing their 'nature' when they were enslaved, i.e. "for the most part lazy, irresponsible, cunning, rebellious, untrustworthy, and sexually promiscuous."[388] 'Natives' retained their designated native features despite being transported *via* the transatlantic triangle to lands they ceased being natives in. Abolition was therefore an expression of the self-proclaimed moral aptitude of 'the imaginary West' rather than of the assumption that slaves were worthy of liberation. So far as can be observed, the 'native' could not be redeemed, only the liberator was redeemed for having inflicted; hence the persistence of institutionalized racism. The same rhetoric was employed for those whose subjugation to the 'West' did not manifest itself in the form of absolute subordination, i.e. colonial and semi-colonial polities, and their indigenous populations.[389]


Our Moslem Sisters

A Cry of Need from Lands of Darkness Interpreted by Those Who Heard It

EDITED BY
ANNIE VAN SOMMER
AND
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NEW YORK CHICAGO TORONTO
Fleming H. Revell Company
LONDON AND EDINBURGH

Image IV.I

The (global) liberation of native women was the 'Western' moral venture to succeed abolition. This was a field where presumptions about innate racial and sexual traits (and their various pairings) evolved to merge as mutually reinforcing pseudo-scientific notions that designated status within the hierarchical conceptualization of the human species—the objectification served to justify the subsequent subjugation of one society by another. As the nineteenth century progressed, the condition of women became one of the means by which civilizational progress could be measured, especially in regions where there were strategic political and economic interests. The scientific

[388] Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution,* 41.

[389] For an historical overview of Orientalist representations of Muslims as being dishonest, lazy, cunning, and sexually promiscuous, see, Said, *Orientalism* (1979). Cromer's account, in particular, is revealing about the "Platonic essence" of "Orientals" (and other natives), 38f. Said sees the over-sexualized representations of the 'Orient' as being partially attributable to the fact that sex in Europe had been "institutionalized to a very considerable degree...so the Orient was a place where one could look for sexual experience unobtainable in Europe," 90.

minds of the Great Powers and North America created the rubric. It is now generally accepted that their exerted "power to observe,"[390] was itself a demonstration their relative supremacy, and yielded the foreseeable conclusion that Muslim and other 'Oriental' and native societies consistently fell short—based on discredited and essentialist assumptions that argumentation embellished with nature, organicism, and Social Darwinism lent credence to. Consequently, the preferred units for measuring progress and civilization in relation to the status of women were not applicable to Ottoman society, *per se*, because an Ottoman had neither race nor creed. One does not come across many 'Ottoman women' in Hamidian-era accounts. Instead, one frequently encounters women who are Muslim, Christian, Jewish, Turkish, Greek, Armenian, Circassian, *etc*. The degraded status of all Ottoman women was the culpa of the sovereign with whom Great Power agents were competing, for practical and ideological power: the House of Osman. Its sovereign had unambiguously been identified as an unenlightened (Oriental) despot by a great majority of Great Power politicians, press appendages, and witness-travelers. The women who were assumed to be in the most dismal and inferior position were the ones that mirrored his attributes: Muslims and 'Turks'[391]—two terms that were sometimes used interchangeably. Their condition was fused with their inferior race, which was conflated with their oppressive religion; the Turco-/Muslim woman was therefore oppressed by each of these factors.

Over the course of the Hamidian years, the Great Power metanarrative expressed unequally distributed sentiments of pity for the women of the East. Istanbul was a favorite subject for romanticization by traveler and foreign-resident alike. Looking at late-nineteenth century Great Power nationals' reflections on the city's population, one observes suspiciously clear-cut yet self-contradictory descriptions and categorizations of Istanbulite women. Furthermore, many 'types' of women the historical record proves the existence of by other means (e.g. state records and newspaper articles) went unnoticed and unrecorded in these traveler and resident counts and were thus rendered invisible for their intended audiences. In the overwhelming majority of primary

[390] Said, *Orientalism*, 308.

[391] Even if one were to put aside the fact that "[f]rom the perspective of ontology, it is widely believed that population genetics has proved the non-existence of biological races," see Lisa Gannett, "Racism and Human Genome Diversity Research: The Ethical Limits of 'Population Thinking'," *Philosophy of Science* 68, no.3, S482, and consider biological, 'scientific,' 'race' in its nineteenth-century form, it is problematic to claim that the House of Osman ever fit neatly into type 'Turk,' despite being almost exclusively being described as such, given the general awareness that concubines and wives could seldom be regarded as 'Turks.'

accounts of Hamidian Istanbul, the city's residents belong to one of five distinct (racial) groups: Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and members of foreign colonies. Bulgarians, Circassians, and the occasional Levantine are other groups that are also sometimes mentioned, in passing.[392] The compartmentalized impression of Istanbul (elaborated on in greater detail in *Chapter II: the City,* Incomplete) was sometimes even rendered into ethno-cultural topographical maps, which, again, mostly represented the city's population in terms of the aforementioned groups. This perception would remain unchanged, even in the post-war era. The "Nationality Map" featured in *The Pathfinder Survey of Constantinople*, for example, divides the city into zones divided amongst the same five groups of Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and Europeans, while admitting "there is more or less intermingling of nationalities in every section."[393] Pera was the "European" zone, where it was assumed foreigners were willfully confined.

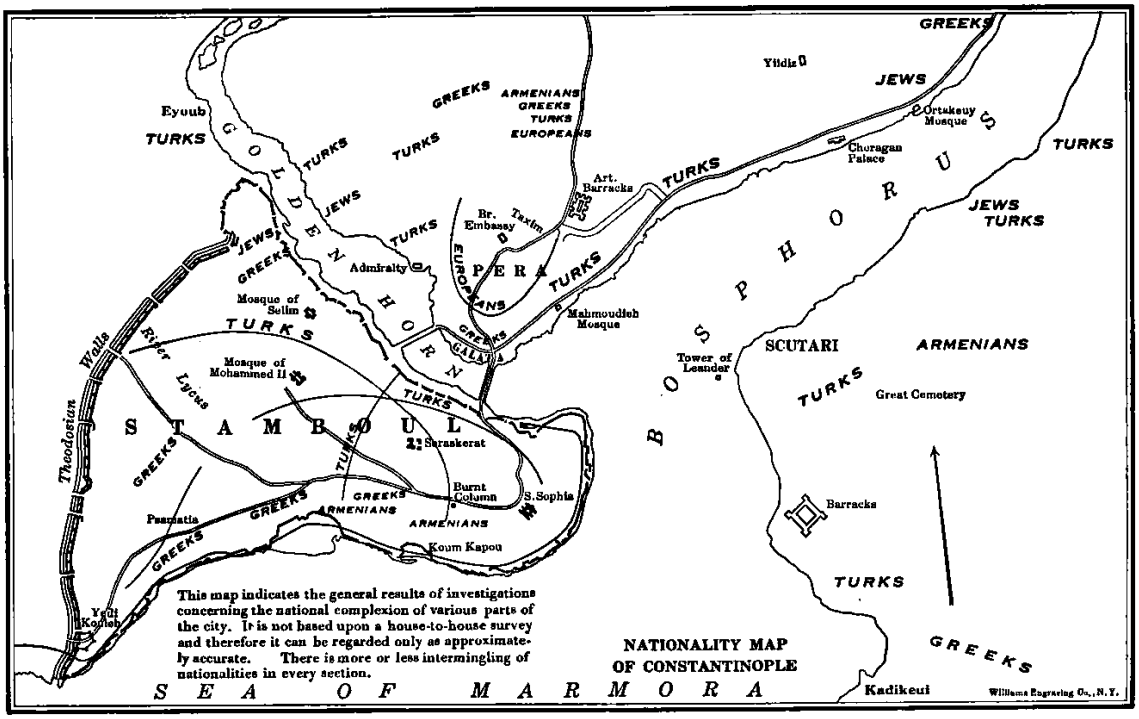

Image IV.II

The overwhelming emphasis on the previously mentioned five groups does not accurately provide a faithful representation of the city's urban populace. Neither was Istanbul so neatly partitioned among them, with those who were attributed the questionable identifier 'minorities and foreigners' occupying closer quarters to one

[392] See, for example, Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople*, which takes a particular interest in Bulgarians.
[393] Fred Field Goodsell, "Historical Setting," in *Constantinople To-Day, or The Pathfinder Survey of Constantinople* (New York: Macmillan, 1922), 18.

another than the rest of the city's inhabitants. As mentioned in the *Introduction: Nation and Migration, the Dialogical Zone*, 'minorities and foreigners' anticipates a particular identity for both 'minority' and 'foreigner,' and connotes an equally particular relationship amongst them. Among the five groups consistently considered to be inherent components of the fabric of Istanbul, the Greeks, Armenians, and foreigners were assumed to have more in common with one another than each with the Turks, with foreigners still elevated to the highest (cultural and civilizational) status. While 'minorities and foreigners' remains a misleading identifier, it must nevertheless be acknowledged that the specific minorities that were assumed to share the same Greco-Roman-Christian civilizational path as Great Power foreigners (rather than 'foreigners') were the ones to more frequently became indigenous foreigners by being granted protégé status, or adopting the nationality of a Great Power state. It was the women of these 'minority' communities who often married Great Power nationals, thus becoming foreignized from their indigenous Ottoman home-state through dependent citizenship clauses written into Great Power states' nationality laws. A heightened fluidity between very specific 'foreigners' and very specific 'minorities' certainly cannot be ignored. The problem with utilizing this compound is that it generalizes a statistical anomaly. With respect to the foreign women of Istanbul, it perpetuates a myth.

Pera provided the most visible women in the most exceptionalized part of the city. Foreign women's association with this locality conjured images of 'Western civilization,' as it was presented to the Ottomans. Pera's women—foreign or indigenous—were agents and transmitters of Great Power culture. Their form paraded a contradistinction. The Ottoman State had to accommodate them, and Ottoman society had to negotiate. These women were private teachers that taught young Ottomans their lessons and the habit of seeing a woman command authority in a public space. They were home educators and governesses whose languages and customs parents chose to expose their children to, with the ambition that it would elevate them and their prospects. They were shopkeepers who draped Ottoman bodies in the latest *alafranga* fashions. They were missionaries who had taken up the 'burden' to 'save' Oriental women's lives and souls. Most of all, foreign women (seen in daylight, on thoroughfares) were those whose stories reinforced a narrative in the context of the late-Ottoman state undergoing reform and modernization in a manner that brought Great Power customs, fashions, sciences, and languages into the Ottoman dominions, and, into Istanbul in its most concentrated form, and especially into Pera. Great Power

women who kept their national associations were the women enmeshed in the cultural project. They were in to be seen, and, along with their personal interests, they served a political role.

For the Great Power woman who chose to maintain her ties to her home state, migration to Pera was relocation to a setting in which she did not need to adopt another identity. She could embellish her base identity, the features of which, though mundane in her home state, were novelties in the Ottoman capital. Her mother tongue was enough to secure her employment. She was not required to be skilled, but if she was, she was more competitive in a labor market that promoted her advantage. She did not need to adopt local customs or dress, or learn the language. On the contrary, as the image of the modern woman marketed to Ottomans, she was there to remind her indigenous counterparts that they should be adopting *her* dress, customs, and language. Ottomans were left to accept, reject, or negotiate this purported progress. Though driven there by her own interest and initiative, she was nevertheless a successful agent in her home state's cultural mission in the 'Orient.' The fact that was muffled was that these women were driven to Constantinople by the assumption that their socio-economic position would be bettered in the Ottoman domains, because it provided for them opportunities that were denied in their Great Power homelands. The reinforcement of neatly compartmentalized identities suited the socio-political interests of both the Ottoman state and the Great Powers. Both could champion itself to be the protector of women, e.g. from Western decadence or Oriental barbarism, respectively. In this vein, each tried to unveil the other, to expose shortcomings. One way in which this was attempted was through the newly popularized consumer commodity: the printed word.

Un-/Civilized Domains: Women of the Metanarrative, and their 'Others'

The dehumanization of 'Oriental' women was a popular theme in nineteenth-century Great Power Discourse. This was particularly true in Great Britain, where, by the period in question, there had developed a co-dependent relationship between public opinion and state policy. In line with other Orientalist rhetoric, the proliferation of the victimization of 'exotic' women gained momentum with increased economic, political, and, consequently, moral investment in 'native' lands by the Great Powers. Such characterizations of 'native' women were particularly pronounced and evident with British engagements beyond its metropole for precisely this reason. The nineteenth

century was the British "imperial century"[394] and between 1815 and 1914, it gained 26,000,000km^2 and 400,000,000 subjects.[395] At the height of the 'scramble' for "the conquest of the earth," Joseph Conrad articulated the predicaments of imperialism, "[w]hat redeems it is the idea only. An idea at the back of it; not a sentimental pretense but an idea; and an unselfish belief in the idea—something you can set up, and bow down before, and offer sacrifice to."[396] While he was speaking through the example of King Leopold's Congo, it is generally accepted that Conrad was referring to nineteenth-century empire. In other words, morality came to be carefully affixed to territorial expansion and the ensuing exploitation of subject populations. Justifying the inflictions of imperial presence relied upon a dehumanizing discourse, the vestiges of which have been dissolving, however languidly, only since the post-modern era.

Modern European colonial imperialism was, summarily, one of the many faces of Europe's continental competition for global politico-economic supremacy. Measured in military and economic might, it was also synonymous with the subjugation, oppression, and exploitation of various native populations. The 'idea' that came to 'redeem it' was 'the Civilizing Mission', or as famously put by British poet Rudyard Kipling: "The White Man's Burden."[397] From Dr. Livingstone in the heart of the 'Dark Continent' to Indian and Chinese and Native American Missions, the nineteenth century witnessed a monumental increase in active efforts of white, European and North American, Christians to 'tame' and proselytize 'native savages' across the globe.[398] According to the perspective of missionaries, their own "strength" was not "just an accident arising from the weakness of others,"[399] neither did their success rest solely upon the fruits of the industrial revolution, e.g. of a mightier military, greater economic power, and technological superiority. Instead, their triumph in 'conquest' was explained by divine will, with the vocabulary of civilizational and moral obligation. The Christian was thus 'burdened' with the 'duty' to 'civilize' and 'save' constructed, 'native,' others. Moral entrepreneurs determined that God subordinated those who were being described as

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[394] Ronald Hyam, *Britain's Imperial Century, 1815-1914: A Study of Empire and Expansion* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 1, and Simon Smith, *British Imperialism 1750-1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2010), 71.
[395] Timothy H. Parsons, *The British Imperial Century, 1815-1914: A World History Perspective* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), 3.
[396] Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*, 72.
[397] Rudyard Kipling, "The White Man's Burden," 1899.
[398] For a missionary activity in the Ottoman territories, see Deringil, *Well-Protected Domains*, 112-135.
[399] Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*, 72.

"half devil and half child"[400] to the self-presumed heirs of a superior civilization. Encroachment was not only justified, but necessary for the salvation of all. The burden conflated race and religion (or, lack thereof, for pagans). With respect to the Ottoman world, this is most evident by the term Turk being both a racial and religious signifier. Accordingly, both were presumed 'terrible.'

The narrative disseminated in the Great Power media outlets, to be consumed by the domestic constituency to form public opinion, was by and large unsympathetic to Muslims, and pitted the crescent against the cross. It was in line with nineteenth-century British imperial realities and interests to propagate a negative representation of Abdülhamid as an unenlightened despot who was not only subjugating Christians, but also further repressing an already regressive Muslim population (for whom there was presented to be hope, *if only...*).[401] It follows that representations of the Ottomans were unfavorable to the State's core religion and society, in general, and to its sovereign, in particular. Otherwise, British presence in the Middle East would have been reduced to material motives and self-interest—which, especially in the case of Britain, risked negative public opinion, since the majority of its own home state constituency was not reaping the benefits of empire. Women were of central importance for those who 'mobilized bias' through the merger of international policy, civilizational discourse, and moral obligation.

Despite the Ottoman state's efforts to build a nation of Ottomans, Muslim Ottoman women were often simply identified as Turkish women in the foreign vernacular. In describing Turkish women, special pains were taken to propagate their real and/or embellished one-dimensional victimhood. It has been established in the literature that Turkish women were presented as eroticized harem captives—forced to live in

[400] Rudyard Kipling, "The White Man's Burden," 1899.

[401] Among the obstacles that the Ottoman sultan presented to British interests was his caliphal authority. Abdülhamid II was the spiritual leader of the *umma*, and thoroughly solidifying his legitimacy as such. At a point when Britain demanded the allegiance of a greater number of Muslim subjects than most other polities in the Islamicate world, Abdülhamid's influence was viewed by some as an obstacle to Britain achieving/maintaining the loyalty of a significant proportion of its colonial subjects. Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, for example, wrote that the caliphate would 'return' to its rightful place in a post-Hamidian world—specifically, to Arabs, who would presumably be more complacent of British interests in the region. He attempted to delegitimize the Ottoman claim to it, suggesting that the House of Osman's possession of it was merely the consequence of "an idea" that Selim I "conceived," "[a]bout the year 1517," in order to further strengthen his position. See, Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, *The Future of Islam* (London: Kegan, Trench & Co., 1882), esp. ix, 48.

ignorance and without agency.[402] Turkish women's suffering was substantiated by testimonies of foreign (Christian) men and women. Though it is topically and regionally not limited to the Ottoman domains, the title of one of these works touches on nearly every element that was intended to be conveyed by such accounts: *Our Moslem Sisters: A Cry of Need from the Lands of Darkness Interpreted by those Who Heard It.* The answer to the question of who would be there to answer the cries was self-evident, and further justified the continued presence of the home states of those who 'heard it,' in 'Lands of Darkness.'

Great Power media outlets articulated Islam to be the general culprit of the Muslim woman's condition. Polygamy was regarded as one of the great evils of Muslim societies. While it had become quite rare in Istanbul by the end nineteenth century, it was still treated as a persistent social and cultural ill, and taken lightly only by a few outsiders. One of those who took it lightly was, again, Mark Twain. Twain often fell into the ordinary traps of generalization, but was nevertheless a relatively sharp and comical observer compared to his contemporary Hamidian-era travelers from the Great Power states. It is noteworthy that his description of Istanbul's social and urban fabric was not compartmentalized into the five ethno-national groups, like those coming from the nearer 'West,' for example. He addressed polygamy within a description of Istanbul,

> Mosques are plenty, churches are plenty, graveyards are plenty, but morals and whiskey are scarce. The Koran does not permit Mohammedans to drink. Their natural instincts do not permit them to be moral. They say the Sultan has eight hundred wives. This almost amounts to bigamy. It makes our cheeks burn with shame to see such a thing permitted here in Turkey. We do not mind it so much in Salt Lake, however.[403]

Twain felt the liberty to suggest the hypocrisy in judging Muslim polygamy, at least for a North American condemner who would not have passed the same verdict for Mormons. It is likely that he was not condoning Muslim polygamy, however, but rather judging the yet un-judged practice of polygamy in the United States through the

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[402] For recent works dealing with women in the late-Ottoman state, see, for example, Onur İnal, "Women's Fashions in Transition: Ottoman Borderlands and the Anglo-Ottoman Exchange of Costumes," *Journal of World History* 22, no. 2 (June 2011): 243-272, Duygu Köksal and Anastasia Falierou eds., *A Social History of Late Ottoman Women: New Perspectives* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), Reina Lewis, *Rethinking Orientalism: Women, Travel, and the Ottoman Harem* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004), Reina Lewis, *Rethinking Orientalism: Women, Travel, and the Ottoman Harem* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004), Nazan Maksudyan ed., *Women and the city, women in the city: a gendered perspective to Ottoman urban history* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2014), Madeline C. Zilfi, *Women and Slavery in the late Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2010).

[403] Twain, *The Innocents Abroad*, 235.

'Turkish' example. Regarding the veil, he described the slightly funny yet slightly bizarre and scary nature of the women's appearance without adding much additional value to it, at one point suggesting "they look as the shrouded dead must have looked when they walked forth from their graves amid the storms and thunders and earthquakes that burst upon Calvary that awful night of the Cruxification."[404] His associations differed from many other Christians who would have hesitated to place a Muslim woman in a pre-Islamic Christian context, even in a derogatory manner—they did not inhabit the same plane.

For the average Great Power moralist, the veil deserved a category of its own. It needed to be exposed and treated as a material representation of oppression. Despite Muslims women not being the only members of the Ottoman constituency to veil, it was described as a uniquely Muslim tool of subjugation. In fact, some went further to claim,

> In Arabia before the advent of Islam it was customary to bury female infants alive. Mohammed improved on the barbaric method and discovered a way by which all females could be buried alive and yet live on—namely, the veil.[405]

As for the answer to the question of "What can be done?"[406] Saving 'Moslem sisters' was presented as being as simple as converting them to Christianity. Conversion was also an unambiguous tool to win a region in the cultural and imperial game. As claimed by one missionary in Egypt regarding the importance of women, "if you get the girls for Christ, you get Egypt for Christ."[407] Egypt for Christ was Egypt for the British Empire. The condition of Muslim women was used to pass judgment upon progress, which, in a cyclical manner, served, again, to reinforce the 'need' for Great Power presence in foreign lands. Thus a cause for Muslim women and a cause for empire were mutually reinforcing. The vocal debate about the condition of Muslim women was not restricted to non-Muslim lands. It was a topic that drew the attention of the Ottoman intelligentsia and was deliberated on at home, in the press, with com-patriot[408] partners in progress.

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[404] Twain, *The Innocents Abroad*, 230.
[405] Annie Van Sommer and Samuel M. Zwemer, eds., *Our Moslem Sisters: A Cry of Need from Lands of Darkness Interpreted by Those Who Heard It* 2nd Ed. (London: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1907), 6.
[406] Ibid., 85.
[407] Ibid., 59.
[408] In a 1910 letter to Halil Hamid that was used in the preface of his work on "Feminism in Islam," Emine Semiye expressed the assistance of men to be crucial for the progress of women. She claimed that it was with the advocacy of men that feminists of Europe "tried to prevail over tyrants," and implied aiding the cause of women was a virtuous expression of patriotism, since "[t]hose concerned with the progress and development of women, who make up the greatest component of human societies, are currently found to be occupying the highest ranks amongst

Domestic Ottoman participants of intellectual debates that measured modernity and civilizational progress according to the condition of women approached the topic from various degrees of nuance. There was a healthy dose of retaliation, in kind, against the objectification of 'Oriental Women.' The British were not the only 'moral entrepreneurs' of the nineteenth century, despite having greater reach. Ottomans also simplified, condensed, and thereby dehumanized their practical and ideological—and moral—opponents. Norms and ideals were disseminated for public consumption through the printed word in the Ottoman dominions, as well. One of the forms this took was through commodities new to the Ottoman lands: the short story and novel.

Ahmed Midhat Efendi and Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar were two popular Hamidian-era public intellectual writer-journalists, whose fictional works demonstrate the wide array of opinions and depictions of European society, and its women, circulating in the Ottoman intellectual space. It suffices here to briefly summarize the image of foreign women in two stories that represent the two extremes of the spectrum of impressions about foreign women: Ahmet Midhat Efendi's *Su-i Zan* (1870) and Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar's *Mürebbiye* (1889). These two stories are additionally useful, because they can be interpreted to be in conversation with one another. They are both moralizing tales that take the same basic premise of a story, but interpret it in fundamentally different ways. Given that much of the moral philosophy and political ideology of the era emanated from France, especially since the French Revolution (1789-1799) and the "Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen" (1789), it follows that the literary representations of European society were often French women. In these two tales, they are Parisian. Midhat's *Su-i Zan* is about Pauline and is set in a household on the outskirts of Paris. Gürpınar's *Mürebbiye* is about Anjel and is set in an Istanbul household; the title takes its name from Anjel's occupation, '*mürebbiye*' means 'governess.' Both Pauline and Anjel are assumed to be having simultaneous affairs with multiple men, in their respective households.

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the civilized nations." She did not regard Islam as an obstacle to civilizational progress. See, Halil Hamid, *Müsavat-ı Tamme* (Istanbul: Leon Lütfi, 1328 [1912/13]), 3-8.

Midhat, also known as the "*Hoca-i Evvel"* (First Teacher),[409] is remembered as having been consumed with the task of making "Europe known to the Ottomans" since the beginning of his literary career in 1870.[410] Despite this, the 'Europe' of *Su-i Zan* is a shell with little essence—Midhat opens the story with a drift into a poetic diatribe about the weather. Paris is merely a backdrop in a dialogue-heavy cautionary yet comical moral tale about a common moral ground: one should not judge or condemn out of sheer suspicion. *Su-i Zan* means 'false accusation'—a sin according to Islamic jurisprudence. Ahmed Midhat thus uses a purposefully unsophisticated Parisian stage of *Su-i Zan* to preach Ottoman-Islamic values. Playing on familiar Ottoman associations, the central character of *Su-i Zan*, Pauline, is suspected of simultaneously having relations with three men. It was acceptable (sometimes, promoted) to suggest that European women—and society—were morally decadent and lacked sexual mores. *Su-i Zan*'s Pauline being introduced to the Ottoman reader as an unchaste and promiscuous Parisian seductress without a sense of moral decency would have been banal. This was what readers were told, again and again, about Western society—it was the future to be feared for Ottoman women and society, in the event of 'false' Westernization. Tanzimat and post-Tanzimat literature is flooded with the woes of Westernizing without understanding the essence of 'progress,' as is Midhat's *ouvre*.[411] The theme is so familiar that what is presumed about Gürpınar's Anjel (superficially) closely echoes what is presumed about Midhat's Pauline.

In the Ottoman era of reform, infiltration of European values and modernity into the social sphere, alongside the modernizing apparatus, was interpreted as a danger. As such, it was also representable through fiction that assigned symbols to characters. While Midhat attempts to layer this 'danger' in his canvas, Gürpınar is more skeptical. He accepts the danger and exaggerates it. Much like Midhat's Pauline, Gürpınar's Anjel personifies the negatively perceived features of European civilization and morality. Anjel is suspected of the same crime as Pauline, namely of having illicit affairs with three men in the same household. Furthermore, her story does not take place in a distant

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[409] Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, 282; Cüneyd Okay, "Ahmed Midhat Efendi," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 3rd ed., edited by Kate Fleet, Gudrun Krämer, Denis Matringe, John Nawas, and Everett Rowson; 'First Teacher' was also the title of "one of the first modern Ottoman schoolbooks," written by Ahmed Midhat in 1868, see, Carter Vaughn Findley, *The Turks in World History* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004), 173.

[410] Findley, "An Ottoman Occidentalist," 22. It would not be until the 1889 Stockholm Congress of Orientalists that Ahmed Midhat would visit Europe.

[411] See, for example, *Felatun Bey ile Rakım Efendi* (Ankara: Akçağ, 1998).

and vague European metropole of the imagination. Straight out of a Parisian brothel, pregnant with an unwanted child, Anjel is a second-generation prostitute that makes her way into what is presented as an honest and stable home in a very familiar Istanbul through trickery and deceit. Anjel stands in stark contrast to Turkish women, whose representations are intellectually and physically unflattering. Anjel's beauty and appeal, however, is misleading.

Pauline and Anjel, along with all they represent, are both, initially, a clear and present danger to the moral fabric of Ottoman society and its values. *Mürebbiye* is a cautionary tale about the need to insulate Ottoman homes and society from the influence of degenerated European morality. It is a direct warning for families who trust their children into the arms of foreign governesses that they should instead be protected from them. Through this metaphor, *Mürebbiye* is simultaneously an implicit warning for those who are who unable to distinguish what the author sees as inherent flaws of European civilization from an appealing façade.

Pauline and Anjel toy with the same exact Ottoman cultural and literary intertext but convey diametrically opposed messages. When looked at in terms of civilizational judgment, what stands out is that Pauline is innocent. Thus, it is actually a defense of the falsely persecuted; that which is condemned without being comprehended or understood. In the Tanzimat context of Young Ottoman discourse, *Su-i Zan* could be read as a moralizing tale that challenges the critics of Europe and its women, with the doctrine of Islam. Pauline is not a vixen, she is more human than most—to such an extent that actions interpreted as her illicit relations with three men in the same household are, in reality, her desperate need to use the toilet. Midhat would be remembered as a critic of superficial 'Westernization,' but he did not propose insulation. Gürpınar's antihero, on the other hand, is pregnant with degeneracy and arrives in Istanbul with the intention to deceive. Upon arrival she economically and morally exploits her hosts through an appealing façade, eventually throwing their household into a site of suspicion, competition, armed internal conflict, and disarray. Under circumstances in which the Ottoman state was both unable and unwilling to completely insulate against the presence of Great Power agents who upheld the illusion of their civilizations supremacy in various guises, Gürpınar's *Mürebbiye* advises caution to readers.

The difference in treatment of the French woman in the respective works also is a reflection of the times that saw their publications. With the advent of the Hamidian regime, Midhat was considered to be one of those who had "changed their opinions and who now ranged themselves on the side of despotism."[412] Though *Su-i Zan* was re-published over the course of the Hamidian years, it was originally written when Midhat was "one of Midhat Pasha's most ardent followers."[413] In fact, Ahmed Midhat Efendi was not only an admirer of Midhat Paşa when he wrote and published *Su-i Zan* but was actually working alongside him. They met each other in Tuna in 1868 and traveled together from there to Baghdad in 1869.[414] In light of this, the cautionary tale against the false condemnation of Pauline takes on an additional layer. Midhat, the writer, produced *Su-i Zan* at a time when the argument was whether or not to adopt and adapt from European civilization and the dangers it might pose to society. He condemned those who rejected the benefits of European civilization, totally, without knowing it or realizing that it was not inseparable from degeneracy. Gürpınar published *Mürebbiye* at a moment when the Istanbul household he describes resembled the Ottoman dominions: economically and morally exploited (e.g. the Public Debt Administration, the Ottoman Bank, the capitulations, missionary schools and societies), a site of suspicion (e.g. conspiracies, spies, censorship), competition (e.g. amongst the various domestic constituencies), armed internal conflict and disarray (e.g. irredentist nationalisms). In 1870, one could still wonder if Pauline was really all that bad. By 1889, it was quite clear that Anjel did not have the Ottomans' best interest at heart.

Ottoman debates about Ottoman women that had core constituent participants seemed to, for the most part, revolve around the need to protect women, and, through them, society at large. It was, of course, patronizing to assume that women could be corrupted by the ills of 'civilization' (the verb)—i.e. it would be a "tragedy...to civilize irrationally (God forbid!),"[415] It was also culturally chauvinistic to assume Islam could do them no harm. Due to the manner in which Islam was debated in Great Power discourse, however, Muslims who were anti-imperialist could hardly criticize Islam, in print. Thus the overwhelming difference between the discussions about Muslim women that were had amongst Ottomans, on one side, and amongst their Great Power counterparts, on the other, was, indeed, the role Islam. For Muslim Ottomans, Islam did

[412] Midhat Bey, *The Life of Midhat Pasha,* 198.
[413] Ibid.
[414] Cüneyd Okay, "Ahmed Midhat Efendi."
[415] Semiye in Hamid, *Müsavat-ı Tamme*, 7.

not strike a dissonant chord with modernity—many male and female members of the intelligentsia addressed this in Islamic modernist terms. In a familiar tone, men and women defended Islam but criticized its practitioners. The presumption was that Ottoman progress would accommodate both Islam and women. This was demonstrated as a self-evident truth, made public, by the very participation of women in the discussion, like Fatma Aliye and Emine Semiye, the daughters of the Tanzimat-era bureaucrat and reformer Ahmet Cevdet Paşa. The audience of these individuals was not external, however. Thus the language in which they deliberated made their debates inaccessible to the consumers of the metanarrative that was the product of the alliance between the policy-makers and the media that had, and *has*, little room for nuance. Ottomans who sought to better the condition of women in the State spoke to an internal audience they charged with the responsibility of change. Others sought to make an impact by other means, by going abroad, for example, and participating in the Great Power component of the discussion.

Exilic Ottomans who participated in Great Power discussions about women risked corroborating narratives that justified the imperialist ambitions of their host societies. They seldom publicly attributed the source of Muslim women's problems to Islam. Young Turk Ahmed Rıza (whose religiosity has been questioned) is a case in point, since "in their open writings CUP leaders extolled and promoted Islam."[416] Hanioğlu reveals Rıza's more critical private thoughts through his letters to his sister, Fahire. After expressing disappointment in the state of the *umma* and placing significant blame on "the fact that the Prophet's words have been so misconstrued by our God damn ignorant imams and softas,"[417] Rıza continues,

> Were I a woman, I would embrace atheism and never become a Muslim. Imagine a religion that imposes laws always beneficial to men but hazardous to women such as permitting my husband to have three additional wives and as many concubines as he wishes, houris awaiting him in heaven, while I cover my head and face as a miller's horse. Besides these I would not be allowed to divorce a husband who prevented me from having any kind of fun, but would be required to submit to his beatings. Keep this religion far away from me.[418]

As an anti-imperialist,[419] Rıza was careful with what he publicly articulated to be the flaws of his society. In this field he presented Islam as something that could be "a tool"

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[416] Hanioğlu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, 200.
[417] "Ahmed Riza to Fahire Hanım," December 27, 1885, Private Papers of Ahmed Rıza (1), in Ibid., 201.
[418] Ibid.
[419] Hanioğlu, *Young Turks in Opposition*, 205.

to reform Muslim society.[420] Ottomans who engaged in external debates about Muslim women articulated the same slew of unfavorable conditions as those itemized in the dominant discourse of Great Power societies. Rather than attributing flaws to Islam, however, over the course of the Hamidian years, exilic Ottomans generally laid the guilt of all societal ills upon the sovereign's shoulders.

Zeynep Hanım was another Ottoman who fled the Hamidian "régime of terror."[421] She was also one of the heroines of Pierre Loti's semi-fictitious *Les désenchantées*—the traveler and scholar Lucy M. Garnett, who is also noteworthy because she accepted the legitimate nationhood of the Ottomans and referred to them as 'Ottoman' and 'Osmanli'[422] (rather than racializing the population), described the book as "presenting an entirely false view of the aspirations and ideals of the life of the educated Osmanli woman of to-day...[and suggested the heroines to be] frivolous and foolishly sentimental."[423] Be that as it may, Zeynep and her sister Melek's published accounts were considered to be true accounts of women living under the Hamidian regime by a wide readership where they were published: England. In a series of published letters to the journalist and suffragette Grace Ellison, Zeynep wrote about the lives of women, under "the yoke of the tyrannical Sultan [Abdülhamid II]."[424] While Zeynep described many reasons for why her "life was just one perpetual nightmare,"[425] she let her sister Melek's letter address the topic of the veil. For her, veiling meant

> ...to be a slave like your mother, and your cousins, and your elder sister; to belong henceforth to the harem; no longer to play in the garden unveiled; nor ride Arabian ponies in the country; to have a veil over your eyes, and your soul; to be always silent, always forgotten, to be always and always *a thing*.[426]

Melek echoed the Orientalist anti-Islamic rhetoric that was prevalent in Europe at the time—even, perhaps, too closely.[427] Melek simultaneously articulated the elite nature of

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[420] Hanioğlu, *Young Turks in Opposition*, 200–203.
[421] The Hamidian era is associated with the word "terror" on several occasions in Zeyneb Hanoum, *A Turkish Woman's European Impressions*, Grace Ellison ed. (London: Seeley, Service & Co. Ltd., 1913), e.g. xiii, 85, 104, 123, 142.
[422] Lucy M. Garnett, *Turkey of the* Ottomans (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915), 3.
[423] Zeyneb Hanoum, *A Turkish Woman's European Impressions*, 241.
[424] Ibid., 120.
[425] Ibid., 142.
[426] Ibid., 89.
[427] For two different perspectives on the relationship between Grace Ellison, and Zeynep and Melek Hanım and how they contributed to each other's causes, see Lewis, *Rethinking Orientalism* and Sarah G. Moment Atis' review of it: *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 1, no. 3 (Fall, 2005): 116-122. While the former grants Zeynep and Melek significant agency in countering the prevalent Orientalist discourse, the latter puts forth that the accounts of Zeynep and Melek accounts actually perpetuate "Orientalist fiction." Atis further suggests the

her concerns, e.g. veiling *also* meant she could no longer ride "Arabian ponies in the country."[428] This was symptomatic of the nature of the veil debate, in particular, and the beginnings of the women's liberation movements in general. While the condition of Muslim women was abhorred as a collective infliction, it was initially most directly for the rights of elite urban women that elite urban men and women vocally fought for—not least because they had the literacy and resources for the cause.

Fiction or not, Melek's account of veiling mirrors the Great Power metanarrative, precisely. The symbolism in her account also demonstrates the dynamics between Ottoman and a Great Power woman, perpetuated by the latter, in public-opinion-forming media outlets. European men, women, and morality were to save the Oriental subjugated '*thing*.' Thus Melek sought salvation in the arms of their representative: a governess very different than Gürpınar's Anjel (incidentally both 'Melek' and 'Anjel' mean 'angel'). Melek's English governess. Miss M., told her that "English women and children are free."[429] Melek responded that she, too, would go to England. She asked her compassionate guardian to take her; Miss M. told her she could not.[430] This was the stuff that made a perfect metaphor: the caring, nurturing, and free woman of independent means represented England and its progress; and in her arms, her helpless Turkish other, whose condition was worse than death, since, death was "the only change to which a Turkish woman could look forward."[431] So far as those willing to accept its verisimilitude were concerned, an Ottoman-Turkish-Muslim woman had vouched for their version of truth in a pen that spoke to a European audience in a Euro-American language. Through participating in her own essentialization, the 'Moslem sister' also provided propaganda for the women's liberation movement in Britain. *A Turkish Woman's European Impressions* is simultaneously a declaration that British and European women were not free, despite having "the impression of being free"[432]—the declaration was made by a woman who would know what captivity was.

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possibility that Grace Ellison either embellished or, even, manufactured some of Melek and Zeynep's Orientalist accounts of harem life for the cause of women in England—a worthwhile consideration, given that Atis points out "odd" cultural and linguistic "errors" that do provide a ground to question the full veracity of Zeynep and Melek's recollections, especially since an underlying current of the works is that an Englishwoman is not free, *not even* compared to a Turkish one.

[428] Zeyneb Hanoum, *A Turkish Woman's European Impressions*, 20.
[429] Zeyneb Hanoum, *A Turkish Woman's European Impressions*, 90.
[430] Ibid.
[431] Ibid., 86.
[432] Ibid., 53.

Conversations that essentialized women were an exchange. Both in the Occident and the Orient, respective '–alists' simplified, essentialized, and dehumanized women in order to condense them into single-servings of simplified and digestible representations of their civilizational others. The women of the metanarratives highlighted what each party had left unaddressed *vis-à-vis* women in their societies, and thus would have to reckon with upon their illumination, especially by their civilizational others over whom they claimed moral ascendancy. The images represented were not false, after all. Instead, they were magnified, exaggerated, generalized, and packaged as an inherent part of a given culture, which, if mobile and transportable, was a contagious threat to the host state. Regarding Gürpınar's story, for example, it was in the context of an era in which European women were less fixed to their birth-towns than ever before and, "[i]n France, each generation of nineteenth-century women was more mobile than the last; by the generation born in the 1890s, women were more likely than men to leave their home districts."[433] Unlike men, women's mobility exposed their sexual vulnerability.

Anjel was not alone in carrying an illegitimate and unwanted child in the streets of Paris. In fact,

> ...[a]t the beginning of the nineteenth-century, almost 40 percent of all reported births in Paris and the surrounding area were illegitimate...[i]n the 1880s, when 29 percent of Parisian babies were illegitimate, the figure for Vienna and Prague was 50 percent, 45 percent for Rome, 40 percent for Stockholm, 38 percent for Moscow, and 31 percent for Budapest. By contrast, only 4 percent of London's babies were out of wedlock.[434]

London's figures for illegitimacy are relatively low when compared to other European capitals, but they were not always so, as "one index showed a 50 per cent fall in illegitimate fertility between 1870 and 1900."[435] It was at some point high enough for it to be considered an issue that should enter public law, as the drop in illegitimate births in Britain was connected to a series of legislations enacted in the nineteenth century that were increasingly protective of infant life and fiscally punished single mothers.[436] Just a decade prior, in the 1860s, "illegitimate children suffered a very high rate of mortality,"[437] infanticide became *the* 'national stigma.'[438] The root cause was the

[433] Rachel G. Fuchs and Leslie Page Moch, "Pregnant, Single, and Far from Home: Migrant Women in Nineteenth-Century Paris," *The American Historical* review, 95, no. 4 (Oct. 1990), 1008.
[434] Ibid., 1009 – 1010.
[435] R. Sauer, "Infanticide and Abortion in Nineteenth-Century Britain," *Population Studies*, 32, no. 1 (Mar., 1978), 90.
[436] Ibid., pp. 81 – 93.
[437] Ibid., 87.

position women and families on the fringes of poverty found themselves in; infanticide was one way of responding to pressures of shame, destitute, and desperation.

Great Power laws worked against the interest of women in the nineteenth century, especially in the realm of family and productivity. For instance, women could not approach the fathers of their offspring for assistance, as "French law explicitly forbade the single mother to search for the father of her child or hold him responsible for any child support."[439] In England the 1834 Poor Law, prior to which a single mothers *could* seek assistance from the father and the State based on her single mother condition alone, made "corroborative evidence of paternity" a requisite after its legislation, for a woman to be entitled to

> ...obtain paternal maintenance, and public assistance was provided only in the dreaded workhouse. In 1844...for the first time, a woman was required to pay a summons fee and the expenses of the summoning officer if she wished to issue a paternity suit.[440]

Neither did a drop in illegitimacy rates in the second half of the century impact the lack of protection single working women were subjected to in Industrial England, since "abortion was a significant factor in causing the decline in the birth rate, along with increased resort to contraception."[441] The social and sexual vulnerabilities of women persisted all the while Victorian society was protected from its evidence. Thus the predicament of Anjel—rather than the negative features of her character and intent—reflected the reality of a significant component of Great Power states' urban populations. Relocation gave women like Anjel the power and anonymity to change their circumstances. Single women relocating to a city like Istanbul meant that they were placed in labor market in which, due to something as simple as the language they spoke, they were competitive and more likely to work under more favorable conditions—like Anjel, for example, in a wealthy home as a governess. Furthermore, in the Ottoman state, those women who were the most stigmatized of all in Great Power states could expect to receive the social benefits that *most* women in need were denied in their home-states.

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[438] Sauer, "Infanticide and Abortion in Nineteenth-Century Britain," 85.
[439] Fuchs and Moch, "Pregnant, Single, and Far from Home," 1010.
[440] Sauer, "Infanticide and Abortion in Nineteenth-Century Britain," 89.
[441] Ibid., 91.

Beyond the Text, and in the Flesh: An Elevation through Relocation

In the process of constructing civilizational metanarratives, both the Ottoman and Great Power states were confronted by those who challenged their simple propagated self-images. The problem with the dominant discourse in each respective side of the imaginary civilizational divide was that it type-casted and denied mobility to women who were actually surprisingly mobile, both spatially and socially. Istanbulite women occupied every step of the social ladder over the course of the Hamidian years. Some were forced into labor through imposed slavery or out of economic necessity;[442] others were always served. They were educated at home, at public institutions, or not at all. They were 'intellectuals with a social function' who were given an immortal voice in ink and illiterates who were denied the vocalization of their thoughts. Istanbulite women both conformed to and defied social norms and expectations. Into their world and the complex social fabric of their native city entered privileged and humble migrant women from every extra- and intra-territorial direction.

The foreign women that arrived in Istanbul's docks or in its Sirkeci station were as diverse as their domestic constituency counterparts. There are a myriad of scales by which privilege can be measured, e.g. economic self-reliance and the power to dictate what to do with one's own body. Istanbul's foreign women who were economically and (therefore, often) socially privileged included wives of doctors, engineers, ministers and rabbis, and diplomats, *etc.* Humble were the governesses, domestic servants, prostitutes, and shopkeepers. Women's level of dependence, however, was likely to be in negative correlation with their capital—both foreign and domestic. Undeterred by such an assemblage of diverse and mobile women that lived in the capital of the Ottoman state, the image of the 'foreign' woman as foil and binary of a harem captive has somehow endured. Furthermore, while inhabiting the same city, the Ottoman woman—who was not always granted the consideration of *not* being banally described with the all-encompassing adjectival of either 'Turkish,' 'Oriental,' 'Eastern, or 'Moslem,' against the greater efforts of the state to create an Ottoman national constituency—reportedly had no contact or commonality with 'minority and foreigner' counterparts, who were without exception assumed to be non-Muslim. The Muslim-Ottoman woman was therefore simultaneously subjected to the restrictions imposed on her by society, and the

[442]Zilfi, *Women and Slavery in the late Ottoman Empire*.

cliché her existence was reduced to for imperialist consumers. With increased mobility of the nineteenth century, she was a curiosity for *some* of the very foreign men women sharing her native city.

The nineteenth century Muslim-Ottoman woman was a specimen to be observed. British and French women visitors to her city visited the museum of her 'prison' and reinforced the narratives of the power paradigms their Great Power states propagated, so far as the recordkeeping women were representative of the visible and also-recorded European woman who was associated with the idealized Pera. The latter's gaze was not "uncontaminated by cultural conditioning or preconception."[443] In analyzing the manner in which they intellectualized their designated others, Shirley Foster demonstrates in that women were not immune to Orientalist and racist jargon.[444] In the Ottoman realms, they were critical observers who went so far as to almost demand the image they expected of the 'Oriental' woman they observed, for example. They were neither satisfied with local women wearing indigenous attire (which they ridiculed yet occasionally masqueraded in)[445] nor its alternative, Western attire, which disappointed their expectations of what 'Oriental' women should look like.[446] The Occidental woman described here had bought into the dominant narrative, and demonstrated through her testimony that "within the nation/class/gender triangle, gender is the least determining factor in female travelers' responses to the harem."[447] She was a critic of the conditions that her sex was subjected to in the Ottoman domains and racially essentialized it—which elevated her degraded status, only by placing another beneath her.

According to common perceptions that were noted over the course of the Hamidian years, Great Power women and Ottoman women lived on different planes that could never intersect. This is what has been demonstrated in the above-section concerning metanarratives. Accordingly, few (or no) comments were made about the experiences the two sets of women, in fact, shared on a symbolic level. Indeed, their circumstances only differed in their outward manifestations. This is why it is so easy to entertain the proposition that Grace Ellison used Zeynep and Melek's 'stories' to make a case for English women—they could *not*, according to their states, be 'less free' than 'Turkish

[443] Shirley Foster, "Colonialism and Gender in the East: Representations of the Harem in Writings of Women Travellers," *The Yearbook of English Studies* 34 (2004), 8.
[444] Ibid., pp. 6–17.
[445] For more on the topic, see, for example, İnal, "Women's Fashions in Transition."
[446] Foster, "Colonialism and Gender in the East," 12.
[447] Ibid.,13.

women,' or even compared. They could not share the same social inflictions, because it was demeaning to the women, and their states. Instead, the Orientalist woman often went along with disaffiliating herself from her counterpart's 'female experience' and emphasized her belonging in conformity with her state's narrative. Thereby, the myth of her civilization's supremacy was perpetuated and her own position in society was secured (unless she married a Turk, at which point she would be discarded by the same civilization she desperately needed to belong to). In the end, then, it was hardly articulated at the turn of the twentieth century that both sets of women shared the experience of the universal subjugation of their sex. The spectacles in each society instead focused on one being a 'Western woman' and the other an 'Oriental'—and each was better off than the other, according to the narrative manufactured by the to distract the disenfranchised from their own state (of being, *and* polity to be held accountable).

The 'Orient' was an imaginary place where a woman who was denied agency in her own society could claim and assert power over others in the same predicament. The cultural intertext for Orientalists and the media-consuming public was that the Oriental woman was an exoticized, eroticized, slave and victim with no agency. The works dealing with women in the metanarrative section collectively surmise that a Muslim woman—wherever, whenever—was kept in ignorance and held prisoner behind the walls of her polygamous master's harem in eternal confinement. Her birth was a tragedy and she symbolically died the moment she placed a veil over her head for the first time—a juncture dictated by the masters of oppressive patriarchy (e.g. a *hoca*). Her condition was accepted despite the objective fact that in terms of social and sexual repression and exploitation, women in 'Western' societies—a group described by Emile Zola to be the "whole bleeding corner of humanity"[448]— sometimes fared better, often, the same, and, other times, worse than their Ottoman counterparts, upon whose image the agony of some of their own predicaments were projected by interested parties (i.e. those simultaneously invested in empire *and* benefited from the domestic *status quo*).

Eastbound women who were sexually, economically, and socially vulnerable transcended borders of their states with newly-discovered national self-consciousness' and crossed the rumored demarcation between 'Western civilization' and 'Oriental barbarism.' Their choice of the metropole of Istanbul rather than Paris, London, Rome,

[448] Emile Zola, "Edmond and Jules Concourt," in Edmond Concourt and Jules Concourt, *Germinie Lacerteux* (Paris, 1910), viii, in Fuchs and Moch, "Pregnant, Single, and Far From Home," 1007.

or Vienna, is not only testament to the discrepancy between the perpetuated image of the Orient and the real condition of its women, but is also indicative of the contemporaneous currency of 'Western' moral and social supremacy that buttressed the rhetorical apparatus of Europe's civilizing/imperial mission in its century of global hegemony. While the Great Power woman who maintained her national identity was marginalized in her own society, however, she nevertheless exploited being a part of it in the Ottoman dominions by claiming supremacy over the indigenous population. In relocating to Istanbul, she consolidated in her presence the strength she was theretofore denied and accepted her elevation among "inmates"[449] and "the most injured human beings …ever seen"[450] (i.e. not the actual slaves of Ottoman society).[451] Despite the active part of some 'Western' women played in the perpetuation of a civilizational fault-line, it is evident that they could not have been wholly convinced of it to begin with—else they would not have evaluated it as being in their best interest to relocate. Thus, despite their part in perpetuating the myth, even they were aware of a discrepancy.

Something was out of place in the Great Power narrative that emphasized a sensationally different mode of existence for the women of so-called uncivilized domains, articulated home state values in condemning such conditions, vocalized idealized conditions for (its) women, and then subjected national (and colonial) women to disparate practical circumstances. An obvious dissonance rang in the ears of Great Power women (and men).[452] Regardless of the volume and circulation of messages advocating the superiority of her 'civilized' condition in her Great Power homeland and despite the rhetoric that took the higher moral ground and dictated how women's lives should be improved in the Ottoman (and every other 'native') territory, there was a veritable gap between the condition she was assigned and the life she lived. Neither was this gap narrow enough to keep her from taking the risk of traveling into domains her civilization claimed supremacy over. Over the course of the Hamidian years, this entailed travelling into 'uncivilized' territories where darkness, despotism, and 'terror'

[449] Harriet Martineau, *Eastern Life: Past and Present*, Vol. II (London: Edward Moxon, 1848), 166.
[450] Ibid.
[451] See, Zilfi, *Women and Slavery in the late Ottoman Empire*.
[452] It is accepted as a given that women's liberation movements (e.g. suffrage) had male participants that were equally devoted to the causes, these male participants are not emphasized in as great a detail with respect to factors that pushed the migration of Great Power women into the Ottoman domains, because mobility and relocation are, ultimately, individual choices (unless forced).

reigned. Undertaking such a journey was sometimes the only way a Great Power woman could benefit from her society's rumored superiority. She was a tool for contrast in the cultural imperialist game. To help achieve the status she helped attain for her home state through her utility, she needed to make her contradistinction seen, which, ironically, only became her source of strength beyond its borders.

The Great Power citizen, male and female, was swiftly and categorically assigned membership to a group that was differentiated from the presumed essence of the indigenous identity of the State into which s/he made a passage. Once they had arrived in the Ottoman capital, foreign women were categorized in the group that was populated by the distinct others of 'native' Turkish-Muslim-Ottoman women, i.e. aforementioned minorities. The artificial and imposed fusion has inadvertently contributed to the reinforcement of age-old categorizations that are counterintuitive to a maturing understanding of the complexity of Ottoman society (or any other), because neither 'minority' nor 'foreigner' were accepted as truly belonging to the setting in which they were found—both were assumed antithetical to the Turk. Despite such contemporary and retrospective distributions of identities into categories determined by policy makers and their affiliates, as will be demonstrated, the actions and words of these women often spoke otherwise. They did not fit into the boxes designated by the civilizational opposite metanarrative that reinforced the interest of those dominating the higher echelons of the existing power structure.

The most physical manner in which some of the foreign women who were Great Power nationals challenged this compartmentalization was through residence patterns. The assumed invisibility of the Turkish-Muslim-Ottoman woman and the oppositional visibility of her foreign (read, European) counterpart strengthened the legitimacy of the civilizational narrative. The stereotypical foreign woman associated with Pera was not hidden. Barring the underworld, the visible foreign women of Pera reinforced their state's claims to possess the right to dictate on the ideal condition of women. The foreign woman could be a dentist, teacher, seamstress, governess, masseuse, and shopkeeper. Alternatively, she might be employed in one of the many industries listed in the aforementioned "La France à Constantinople/Revue Commerciale du Levant," or in her personal advertisement in the pages of Istanbul's press—both foreign and domestic. Above all, the foreign woman was 'modern.' Whatever her socio-economic circumstances were prior to her arrival in Istanbul, her state did not attempt to temper

with her assumed advantage of newfound anonymity. The sectors in which she was visible demonstrates that one of the links that was formulated between the foreign woman and the idea of modernity was that she was often associated with being a productive member of society, i.e. she was employed.

The image of the Great Power woman in the Ottoman domains conveyed self-sufficiency. She was a 'free' woman who dictated her own circumstances (often to a greater degree than she would in her home state); she was enough of a representative of her home state's ideology to be able to challenge the norms of Ottoman society by her visibility—especially the place of women in it, she was provoking patriarchy. In her independent capacity, a single foreign woman could become a part of a community of foreigners, as an individual. If she should have maintained her home state allegiances, belonging to European civilization transpired in two degrees: primary and secondary. The contrast-perpetuating residents of each Great Power state considered themselves as individual colony; this was the primary association. The eastbound foreign woman's secondary association was the larger Great Power community. She was given access to the greater Great community through occasions like embassy events that invited and catered to Great Power nationals (and *alafranga* enthusiasts). In addition to her primary and secondary associations, the Great Power woman also had access to elite households, the aforementioned minority groups, and the *alafranga* community of Istanbul.

Great Power and Ottoman fiction and non-fiction dictated that the contacts and residences of European women were precisely chartable. It was in the interest of both narratives to keep the lines of segregation clean, as the positive and negative exceptionalization of the relevant groups was bolstered in this manner (which boosted the national interests of each respective state). The countless repetition of this sectionalized-city mythology did not make it true, however. Over the course of the Hamidian years, the Great Power women did not by default inhabit the 'European' section of the city, Pera, never crossing paths with their 'Moslem sisters,' who were assigned 'Stamboul.' Foreign and Turkish-Muslim-Ottoman women did not occupy different parts of the city, because there were not two sets of women.

States were prepared for certain cases of transgressions in women's identity. If a Great Power woman should cross the line by marrying an Ottoman, for example, the protocol was that she was rejected from her natural-born community and thenceforth an Ottoman—in the words of the 1870 British Naturalization Act, she became "the subject

of the State of which her husband is;"[453] Great Power laws enforced dependent citizenship, the Ottoman law accepted it. Another expected phenomenon was a Great Power woman losing her economic self-sufficiency. Under such circumstances, if the woman appealed to her embassy for assistance, the cost of her ticket home would be paid, and she would thereby be removed from the Ottoman public's eye. The British government interpreted the welfare of the 'distressed' national to be ensured by a return to the home state. The Consul General of Constantinople billed Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, £15 in January of 1878 "for the passage to Liverpool of Sarah Ellis, a distressed British subject."[454] The cost for the passage of a woman and her two children could cost £35.[455] Indeed, there were enough British women and families that were distressed in Istanbul that the Foreign Office delivered the following dispatch as to the procedures of what should be done:

> ...use discretionary power as to sending home without delay such English families as are totally deprived of all means of subsistence and who are without hope of gaining their livelihood in Turkey. Consult with Mr. Layard in any doubtful case, or when a question arises as to the best and most economical means of sending people *home* [emphasis added].[456]

Once these individuals landed home, the State (which dictated where their home was) had finalized its obligation. Their condition seemed to cease to matter, once out of the foreign public's eyes.

The manners in which the cases of 'distressed subjects in Constantinople' were resolved shielded the Great Power metanarrative from assault. Individuals did not even necessarily need to be in distressed to be denied residence in Istanbul; it was decided without any particular explanation, for example, that a "William Daston wishing to reside again in Constantinople shouldn't be acceded to."[457] The Great Powers' authority and jurisdiction (to seize and deliver, for no apparent crime) over their (national) individuals extended into Ottoman territories. The State may have evaluated sending 'distressed' subjects to the 'home' state that was, ultimately, considered responsible for their welfare, as being in the best interest of the individuals in question. While these individuals were likely to continue being 'distressed' at 'home,' it was—also—in the best interest of the State to have its more self-sufficient nationals represent its image as

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[453] "Naturalization Act, 1870. (33&34 VICT. C.14)," in Henriques, *The Law of Aliens and Naturalization*, pp. 175-6.
[454] TNA.F.O.781/15, no.6 (28 Jan. 1878).
[455] TNA.F.O.781/15, no.25 (27 Mar. 1878).
[456] TNA.F.O.781/15, no. 20 (13 Mar. 1878).
[457] TNA.F.O.781/15, no.4 (2 Jan 1878).

civil ambassadors to the Ottoman constituency. What respective tailors of national-images had to come to terms with, however, were those Great Power nationals who challenged their civilizational discourse by breaching protocol and rejecting their nations out of their own initiative. Their choices instead benefited the Ottoman state's image through willingly adopting—and thereby debunking—the manufactured identity of their civilizational 'other.' The Great Power women who challenged the discourse of their home states most dramatically were prostitutes and converts.

Out of One Echo Chamber and into Another: Prostitutes and Converts

In an era characterized by Great Power competition for economic, political, moral and cultural supremacy in the physical and spiritual domains of the rhetorical Eastern Question, there were women who travelled to the Ottoman state and demonstrated to their host society the bankruptcy of their home states' rivaling claims. While the narrative in the British metropole, for example, had for half a century been contrasting its presumably free female national against her previously elaborated on enslaved Oriental Muslim counterparts who were characterized as "inmates"[458] in print media, i.e. "the most injured human beings …ever seen,"[459] there were women who converted to Islam and disowned their countries to become Ottoman nationals. The Great Power women who challenged the civilizational narrative and rejected their home state' claims to morality also journeyed to the Ottoman state. Prostitutes also challenged the metanarrative; Malte Fuhrmann has skillfully demonstrated the extent of their impact.[460] While challenging Great Power claims about their own superiority, prostitutes provided their host State additional leverage by corroborating the Ottoman metanarrative so far as it pertained to European cultural degeneracy and moral laxity—the implications of Midhat and Gürpınar's Pauline and Anjel. Thus, eastbound prostitutes and converts, as Great Power outcasts, became allies of the Ottoman state in the cultural imperial battles that were waged in the Hamidian lands.

In line with Ottoman depictions of the region and its inhabitants, prostitution in Istanbul was concentrated in and within close proximity to what has been characterized

[458] Harriet Martineau, *Eastern Life: Past and Present*, 166.
[459] Ibid.
[460] See, among others, Malte Fuhrmann, "'Western Perversions' at the Threshold of Felicity, Fuhrmann, "'I would rather be in the Orient.' European Lower Class Immigrants into the Ottoman Lands," in *The City in the Ottoman Empire: Migration and the Making of Urban Modernity*: 288-297.

as the European quarter of the city and the port of Galata. Though it was associated with, observed and remarked on in relation to this locality, prostitution was by no means limited to such particularized coordinates, especially since brothels in the city were legal establishments that were "subject to licensing restrictions."[461] Fuhrmann's research has focused attention on Austro-Hungarian prostitutes and "white slave traders" of the major underworld hub of late nineteenth-century Istanbul—women were supplied across the world, from Latin America to Calcutta.[462] These Habsburg sex-workers, who numbered 300 in one random bust,[463] became a thorn in the side of their ambassadors as the Habsburg became more invested in carving their sphere of cultural supremacy in the Ottoman dominions. The embassies therefore attempted to extradite members of the underworld who were their nationals, in order to eliminate the proof of discrepancy between the cultural and moral supremacy they pretended to, and what the presence of sex-workers demonstrated in the streets and brothels of Istanbul. In the late-nineteenth century, despite Western European meta-narrative criticisms of women's conditions in the Ottoman Empire, the critics themselves came up short. The members of the Habsburg underworld "would rather be in the Orient."[464] According to Fuhrmann, they "claimed to have no home in the monarchy...They lauded Constantinople brothels as a place where they were materially better off, socially integrated and protected."[465] When extradited to their designated homeland, they returned to their adopted homeland.

Prostitution in Hamidian Istanbul was not any more devoid of danger than elsewhere. Neither is it likely that the Ottoman capital's brothels resembled the quaint "sleazy [Galata] café" kept by the Italian "Madame [who] could speak every language," which Pierre Loti "would enter by the main door, dressed as a European, and then leave by the door to the alleyway, a Turk."[466] Roger Deal's study of Istanbul's ethno-religiously diverse roughnecks [*külhanbeyi* and *kabadayı*] shows a much bleaker scene. Deal frequently consults the newspaper *İkdam* for glimpses into a culture characterized by "types violent behavior" unique to itself in Hamidian Istanbul.[467] As might be expected, it was a world that collides with that of the sex-workers; "the association

[461] Roger A. Deal, *Crimes of Honor, Drunken Brawls, and Murder: Violence in Istanbul under Abdülhamid II* (Istanbul: Libra, 2010), 91.
[462] Fuhrmann, "Western Perversions," 160.
[463] Ibid.
[464] Fuhrmann, "I would rather be in the Orient."
[465] Fuhrmann, "Western Perversions," 163.
[466] Pierre Loti, *Aziyadé* (Paris: Ancienne Maison Michel Lévy Frères, 1895), pp. 158f, 270, 275.
[467] Deal, *Crimes of Honor, Drunken Brawls, and Murder*, 116f.

between prostitutes and *kabadayıs* and *külhanbeys* was a very strong one."[468] This contact often made itself evident in the crime section of the daily press, revealing that some of this violence was also directed toward prostitutes. Deal writes of Emine, for example, who was stabbed in an argument on 11 July 1898.[469] A particularly horrific case is that of the manservant Arşak. Jealous of Camélia's transactional relations with other men, Arşak not only slit her throat, but then her mother's and her dog's, before taking his own life.[470] In sex-work-word violence, there was also collateral damage, like the American bystander, Mr. Andrews Struppe, who was fatally stabbed by a Mustafa in January 1895, in the latter's attempt to prove to Pauline, the prostitute he fell in love with, that he was "brave and strong, a man who had proven himself."[471] Despite such publicized *insecurities*, which may have been evaluated as a hazard of the job, *wherever*, eastbound sex-workers felt secure *enough* to take up Ottoman citizenship to avoid extradition.

Great Power women of Istanbul's underworld community sometimes felt more 'free' in lands that were reported in their home states as uncivilized domains. And they nationalized accordingly. Fuhrmann points out, by the second constitutional period, Istanbul's foreign pimps "almost completely adopted Ottoman citizenship" along with many of the prostitutes.[472] As he points out, this phenomenon is significant in light of the impact of these marginal women on the Great Power imperialist discourse. It is also important to note that the State allowed their legal assimilation and allowed them to become members of the nation-under-formation. Fuhrmann's study demonstrates that it must have been clear to the Hamidian regime that granting its rivals' underworld citizenship was an opportunity to claim sovereignty over a portion of his city's resident foreign population—a tradeoff, since Great Powers were claiming Ottoman nationals as their own. In these women, the State gained unsuspecting allies in its attempts to retaliate against imperialism and simultaneously demonstrate to its own public the thorns of the elusive rose of Western civilization—Pauline and Anjel had long since left the text and were observable in the flesh. Above all, however, and most significant for this thesis, whatever the Hamidian regime imagined their role to be, the State had room

[468] Deal, *Crimes of Honor, Drunken Brawls, and Murder*, 91.
[469] Ibid., 101
[470] Ibid., pp.134, 183-5.
[471] Ibid., 107.
[472] Fuhrmann, "'Western Perversions' at the Threshold of Felicity," 167.

for Great Power outcasts in its national vision. They were not excluded. Instead, outcasts diversified the constituency and demonstrated the fluidity of Ottoman identity.

Long Live the King, Long Live My Sultan! The Liverpool – Istanbul Connection

The Ottoman state adopted women who were outcasts in Great Power societies into its forming citizenry. It took the same action with apostates. Thus, another sector of the Great Power constituency transiently and perennially living within the Ottoman dominions were those who had converted to Islam. The State developed a symbiotic relationship with both. While Great Power sex workers appreciated the Istanbul underworld and "Constantinople brothels as a place where they were materially better off, socially integrated and protected,"[473] it can be argued their sentiments were echoed by Great power converts. One of the differences between the two groups was the level of mutual investment that existed between members and the State. Converts had allied with the Ottoman state and its sovereign vocally and unambiguously, and the State rewarded their loyalty by material and immaterial means.

While Great Power and North American missionaries were trying to convert, civilize and 'save' the Muslims of the Orient, conversion to Islam became an increasingly growing phenomenon in their respective metropoles, especially in Britain and France, but also in the United States.[474] Some who witnessed the growth of the native convert community were ambitious and hopeful, as one of the responses to conversion was to bring the Anglo neo-Muslims "back" to Christianity, the true religion.[475] In general, however, convert individuals (later developed into communities) were adversely affected by the rhetoric that capitalized on difference, especially since the politics of division often translated into physical violence and persecution. In Britain, in particular, Islam was demonized in the process of legitimating (Christian) civilizational supremacy in the eyes of the public to attain consent over the subjugation of colonial subjects who had surrendered secular allegiance to the Crown. The sultan still commanded the spiritual loyalties of those who had become a part of the British Empire—so the *umma* was dehumanized. Given the plethora of negative representations of Islamic culture and societies reverberating from the metropole to 'mobilize bias' to

[473] Fuhrmann, "'Western Perversions' at the Threshold of Felicity," 163.
[474] See, for example, Patrick D. Bowen, *A History of Conversion in the United States: White American Muslims before 1975,* Vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2015).
[475] See, for example, John J. Pool, *Studies in Mohammedanism: Historical and Doctrinal, with a Chapter on Islam in England* (London: Archibald Constable and Company, 1892), xv.

condone and attain positive feedback for imperial ambitions in Muslim lands, it is predictable that converts were marginalized. They were perceived as traitors and were condemned to be destined for hell.[476] The false dichotomies of a divided and simplified world (e.g. the crescent *versus* cross, European civilization *versus* Oriental despotism, Christian progress *versus* Muslim savagery), expressed its social consequences in acts of ostracization and violence.

Divisive politics in Great Power home states un/wittingly turned members of the constituency who converted to Islam into a marginalized minority. Their subjection to physical and verbal assault was nearly justified by the political-civilizational discourse articulated by politicians and the press. Social exclusion made them seek inter-communal support through unity with the *umma* and alternative leadership beyond their national borders. Despite numerous attempts by internal and external opponents to delegitimize his position, the Ottoman sultan-caliph was still the undisputed spiritual leader in the eyes of the transnational *umma*. Over the course of the reign of the 'Red Sultan,' despite efforts by British diplomats to undermine his position as Caliph, natural-born British Muslim converts solidified their spiritual commitment and loyalty to Abdülhamid II. Thus the Muslims of the British Isles and the greater empire—whether metropole citizens or colonial subjects—found themselves in a position in which they developed multiple allegiances: among other loyalties, their political allegiance was to the British government, but the sultan was the commander of the faithful. Abdülhamid used this leverage to promote a sense of extra-territorial Ottomanism that was able to render the States of his ideological (as well as political and economic) foes insecure with their own population.

The Hamidian regime built a dialogue with and bargained for the loyalty of Great Power converts. Buttressed by his caliphal authority, Abdülhamid fostered a type of Ottomanism that promoted his position in the eyes of Sunni-Muslims (i.e. what has previously been interpreted as pan-Islamism). The rhetoric of the type of belonging that was disseminated to convert Great Power nationals transcended the Ottoman state's borders. Upon closer inspection, however, the nature of the religious discourse directed out of Istanbul to the wider, global, *umma* reveals that it was unmistakably bound to the political authority of the Ottoman state. This specificity delegates the caliph's appeals to

[476] Geaves and Gilham both reference the "The *Christian Soldier*" which printed that Quilliam and converts were destined for hell, see *Islam in Victorian Britain*, 88, and *Loyal Enemies*, 65, respectively.

the evolving *umma* to the realm of exterritorial Ottomanism that was fostered as the State's official ideology over the course of the Hamidian years. The successes of extraterritorial Hamidian Ottomanism are observable in the pages of the transnational *umma*'s press, especially in the convert and colonial ones, the former in Great Power states (i.e. where national essence and identity was often articulated through its Ottoman other) and North America. In these regions, nationals of the inheritors of 'Western Civilization' were 'going Turk' at rates that were alarming and for reasons that were inexplicable in the eyes of some of their compatriots.

William Henry Quilliam was a convert from Liverpool who had embraced the Muslim faith about a decade into the Hamidian regime, probably over the course of an 1887 trip he had taken to Morocco.[477] Within a few short years, Quilliam established the 'Liverpool Moslem Institute' and a press. He became the outspoken leader of a growing community of converts, personally converting approximately 500 Englishmen and women;[478] the institute became "the most successful Islamic proselytizing group in England in the nineteenth century."[479] One of the reasons for Quilliam's success—particularly among women—can be attributed to his unapologetic articulation of the aforementioned gap between the visible economic and political strength of the British Empire on the global stage, along with the self-righteousness of its moral entrepreneurs, and the conditions that its lower-middle class citizens were living in. He articulated, in other words, the failings of Victorian England and Christianity to promote the welfare of society. An engaging speaker and avid writer, Quilliam claimed in his public talks, pamphlets, and the pages of his press that Islam was the religion to embrace to cure his English society's ills—like alcoholism, prostitution, poverty, infanticide, child abandonment and destitute.[480] Among other papers of repute and disrepute, he edited *The Crescent* and the *Islamic World*.

The Crescent (1893 – 1908) was one of Quilliam's press organs, and spoke on behalf of the Institute. It reveals the dual allegiances that existed in the hearts and minds of Liverpool's Anglo-Muslim community. The link between Quilliam and Abdülhamid,

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[477] Ron Geaves, *Islam in Victorian Britain: The Life and Times of Abdullah Quilliam* (Leicestershire: Kube Publishing, 2010), 3.
[478] "W.H. Quilliam, Marmaduke Pickthall and the window of British modernist Islam," in Geoffrey Nash, Kathleen Kerr-Koch, and Sarah Hackett, eds., *Islamic Studies Series: Postcolonialism and Islam: Theory, Literature, Culture, Society and Film* (Florence, KY: Routledge, 2013), 157.
[479] Bowen, *A History of Conversion to Islam in the United States,* 137.
[480] Geaves, *Islam in Victorian Britain*.

and the former's reliance on the Ottoman sultan to reinforce his own legitimacy is evident from the fact that *The Crescent* stopped running in 1908, the year of the Young Turk Revolution, never to print another issue again. Liverpool Muslims were political members of their national community and adherents of Ottoman, Hamidian, Islam. They did not conceal their efforts to simultaneously belong to two communities, even if their home state had declared the two as one another's contrasted others, and, therefore, utterly incompatible. They continually expressed their resistance to the metanarrative. For example, on the birthdays of their two sovereigns, they clearly articulated their multiple belongings: "May the Almighty serve our benign King Edward VII., our Sovereign ruler, and the Sultan of Turkey our seenar head for many years to come, Amen."[481] Far from apologizing for their loyalties, the Liverpool Muslim community made them more questionable in the eyes of the general public.

Quilliam promoted his attachment to the Ottoman sovereign through symbols, ceremony, and rituals. An "Osmanli Regiment"[482] was instituted in Liverpool, for example. The paper brought attention to Abdülhamid's promotion of the faith in distant lands and expressed joy and gratitude for his generosity in the cause, e.g. when the caliph "made a grant of £2,500 to defray the expense of the Muslim mission to China" in 1901.[483] It was not just the hundreds of converts in the British port city of Liverpool who read about the Sultan's deeds for the community, however, as in 1895, Quilliam claimed to have a global reach. Funnily enough, *The Crescent* advertised its circulation in an advertisement for advertising space. It claimed,

> ...[t]his paper has already attained an extensive circulation in the British Isles, in addition to which thousands of the Paper are sent regularly abroad to subscribers in France, Spain, Switzerland, Morocco, Constantinople, Smyrna, Syria, Turkey in Asia, Russia, Morocco, Tunis, Algeria, Malta, Egypt, Persia, Beluchistan, Ceylon, Arabia, the Cape Colony, the Transvaal, Zanzibar, Lagos, Gambia, Sierra Leone, the West Coast of Africa, Afghanistan, Penang, Singapore, China, British Guiana, Trinidad, Canada, the United States of America, and many parts of India, thus forming a capital advertising medium.[484]

Quilliam, and therefore his press, was prone to exaggeration and a suspicious amount of caution. To counter doubt, *The Crescent* produced evidence to lend credence to some published claims that could have been assumed to have been fabrications. One of the

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[481] "Islam in Penang. Public Rejoicings at the Mosque," *The Crescent* (6 January 1904).
[482] "Osmanli Regiment," *The Crescent* (9 January 1901).
[483] *The Crescent* (9 January 1901).
[484] "Advertisers who desire their Wares to become known throughout the World cannot do better than Advertise in the Columns of 'The Crescent', The Recognised Islamic Weekly Newspaper," *The Crescent* (20 February 1895).

ways in which it resolved to prove that it had such a wide circulation was through publishing a list of the names of those with overdue subscriptions along with the states in which resided in. Subscribers presumably included those to whom Quilliam sent free issues of the paper.

The space devoted to the Ottoman sultan and his territories in *The Crescent* is commensurate with "supreme mission of the *renaissance*" its editor said he was "granted" by "the Most High."[485] Abdülhamid was the Liverpool Muslim's "Caliph of the Faithful, Emir-ul-Moomenen."[486] Istanbul was articulated to be the center of the Muslim world, e.g. through the column "News from the Metropolis of Islam. (From our Special Correspondent at Constantinople)."[487] The caliph's birthday inspired "rejoicings in every part of the world in which Muslims dwell" and on the sixty-first "Anniversary of the Birth of His Imperial Majesty Sultan Abdul-Hamid Khan-as-Sani, Caliph of the Faithful..." what "gushes from the heart of every True-Believer," was for "Allah grant to him many more years to continue to fill the exalted position which he now so fitly ornaments. *Amin!*"[488] Above these columns stood the sultan's seal and the Ottoman state's coat of arms; a "special *doa* [prayer] was offered for the Sultan of Turkey and other Muslim rulers" for Ramazan. For the "Lesser Bairam" of 1903, "the felicitations of the British Muslims" were printed for the "Caliph of the Faithfull, His I. M. Sultan Ghazi Abdul-Hamid Khan, Emir-ul-Moomeneen."[489] The Qajar monarch who also fostered a relationship with the Liverpool Muslim community, and had "presented [them with] $25,000 to form a home for destitute children,"[490] and "the late Ameer of Afghanistan [who] went specially for prayers in the mosque, and made a gift of something like a thousand pounds to the finances of the community,"[491] were mentioned in passing. They were among 'other [unnamed] Muslim rulers.'

The privileged place allotted to Abdülhamid in the Liverpool Muslim community's imagination is undisputable. That their understanding of Islam was intimately connected to what was promoted by the Ottoman state (within and beyond its borders) is

[485] "Imperial Ottoman Munificence," *The Crescent* (20 June 1900).
[486] "Anniversary of the Birth of His Imperial Majesty Sultan Abdul-Hamid Khan-as-Sani, Caliph of the Faithful, Emir-ul-Moomeneen," *The Crescent* (4 November 1903).
[487] E.g. *The Crescent* (16 January 1901).
[488] Ibid.
[489] "Celebrating the Lesser Bairam at Liverpool," *The Crescent* (23 December 1903).
[490] "English Police Court Lawyer Becomes an Ally of the Sultan and is Now Engaged in Teaching the Religion of Mohammed," *The San Francisco Call* (13 December 1903).
[491] "Islam in England: Converting the British," *Dundee Evening Post* (1 April 1902).

evidenced, among other means, by the fact that Istanbul was considered the "metropolis of Islam."[492] It was not Mecca, the city of the Prophet and the Fifth Pillar, which unites the *umma* in mutual aspiration and obligation. Neither was Arabic often *The Crescent*'s language of choice, which, again, is the common reference point for Muslims in being the language of the Qur'an. Quilliam's title of "İngiltere Şeyhülislamı" [Sheikh-ul Islam of England] was printed on his personal letterhead and transliterated in his press from Ottoman language.[493] Religious days were Ottomanized (e.g. the press opted for "*Lesser Bairam*" over "*Eid al-Fitr*" or "*Hari Raya.*" The Liverpool Muslim community's religious affiliation was Ottoman Muslim. This is proof that the argument of the Ottomanization of religion put forth by Deringil, had success far beyond the State's borders.[494] Quilliam's press helped fortify for its global readership the sultan's ambitions to maintain his superior position in the eyes of the *umma*, in the language of its greatest challengers to the claim (English) in the metropole one of the largest Muslim empires (Britain). The sultan was the undisputed commander of the free and colonized, transnational, faithful.

The Liverpool Muslim press stressed that the *umma* was unbound by nation, their spiritual community of faith transcended political borders. Their commander was the Ottoman sultan. *The Crescent* was joined by other British (and international) papers by the turn of the twentieth century in frequently mentioning that Quilliam was "also a Bey Effendi and Sheikh-ul Islam of the British Isles."[495] Other papers joined Quilliam's press in publicizing a tight relationship with the man Gladstone called the "Great Assassin"[496] and William Watson described as "[h]ell's regent sitting yonder, propped by thee, Abdul the Damned, on his infernal throne."[497] It was reported, for example, when the English sheikh "received a telegram from the Sultan requiring his immediate presence in Constantinople."[498] With his harnessed legitimacy, Quilliam was able to confront "sections of the British press were endeavoring to prejudice the minds of Britons against the present Sultan."[499] Quilliam became one of Abdülhamid's

[492] See, for example, *The Crescent* (16 January 1901).
[493] See, for example, "Abdullah Quilliam, İngiltere Şeyhülislamı, Abdullah Quilliam, The Sheikh-ul-Islam of the British Isles," *The Crescent* (9 May 1900).
[494] Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains*.
[495] *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette* (10 February 1905).
[496] "'The Great Assassin.' The Country Aroused. Important Letter from Mr. Gladstone," *London Daily News* (23 September 1896).
[497] William Watson, "The Purple East," *Northern Echo* (17 December 1895).
[498] Ibid.
[499] "Liverpool Muslims and the Sultan of Turkey," *The Crescent* (4 September 1895).

international advocates. He joined contemporaries like P. Baudin[500] when he elaborated on the progressive features of the sovereign who was otherwise presented to the general public as a tyrant who murdered innocent people upon suspicion.[501]


Pages 17 to 20 THE CALL Pages 17 to 20

ENGLISH POLICE COURT LAWYER BECOMES AN ALLY OF THE SULTAN AND IS NOW ENGAGED IN TEACHING THE RELIGION OF MOHAMMED

William Henry Quilliam, Sheik-ul-Islam of the British Isles, Spreading the Creed of the Moslems, Which, He Believes, Will Solve the Whole Race Problem.

Image IV.III

It was fitting for Quilliam to build a persuasive defense for Abdülhamid. He was, after all, a talented solicitor. The messages that were conveyed in the pages of *The Crescent*, did, however, sometimes surpass ordinary lines of defense and suggested offense. It could be read, for example, that if Liverpool Muslims were prompted they would retaliate together with the *umma*. After expressing the desire and intent to "congratulate the Sultan on the anniversary of his accession to the throne of Othman," for example, *The Crescent* printed parts of the proceedings of a recent lecture that Quilliam was a part of. At the lecture, it had been articulated that, "England, since the Azan had been given in Liverpool, was tacitly considered by most Muslims as *Dar-ul Islam* and it would be an evil day when it was forced to be declared *Dar-ul Harb* (loud applause)."[502] Mr. J.R. Kadderbhoy, who was there "representing the sixty millions of Muslims in India," continued with the declaration that an "injury to one was an injury to all."[503] The dual allegiances of the Anglo-Muslims of the Liverpool Moslem Institute was expressed through *The Crescent*, but the frequency with which such articles and snippets appeared in the first years of the twentieth century could have easily cast into doubt whether their loyalty to the caliph was beginning to dominate—a natural cause for alarm for the Great Power home state, given the dynamics of empire and the

[500] P. Baudin, *Abd-Ul-Hamid II: Les Progrès de la Turquie, son avenir et la Science dans L'Islamisme* (Paris: le ministère de l'instruction publique, 1895).
[501] See, for example, George Dorys, *Abdul-Hamid Intime.* 2nd ed. (Paris: P.-V. Stock, 1901), viii.
[502] "Liverpool Muslims and the Sultan of Turkey," *The Crescent* (4 September 1895).
[503] Ibid.

accompanying metanarrative. The community's bond with the sultan was further emphasized by the perpetuation of the notion that the caliph was accessible.[504]

The caliph was presented to the readers of *The Crescent* as being personally invested in the convert community. The reporting of a fire at a North American Muslim home, for example, was also an opportunity to prove the sultan's interest in the members of the *umma*, new and old, because the mention-worthy article of the home was "the copy of the Koran, presented to Brother Nabakoff by His Imperial Majesty the Sultan."[505] *The Crescent* also transmitted Abdülhamid's personal messages that were specifically directed at the Liverpool community, e.g. the sultan had asked his "felicitations and homage of yourself [Quilliam] and the Muslims of Liverpool" to be made "known to the whole of the Muslim community of Liverpool."[506] The link only got tighter, until, in 1900, it became common to observe the community chant for the sultan using the same words of the (political and bordered) Ottoman constituency. With the call "Padishahim Chok Yarshah [*sic*]!" (Long live *my* Sultan), [507] on the paper's cover in bold and capital letters, Liverpool Muslims had claimed Abdülhamid, not only as their caliph, but also as their sovereign. The community celebrated the Ottomanized "Courban Bairam" ("*Eid al-Adha*" or "Sacifice Feast") in their Liverpool mosque, it would be the last time that all that *The Crescent* would be reporting that those present were seen to be "rising and shouting 'Padishahim chok yasha'"[508] for this religious occasion. It was the final year of the paper's run and their sultan-caliph's rule.

Great Power nationals whose conversion was interpreted as a betrayal by their compatriots were ostracized in their home states. Most often, "infidel within"[509] was either "exposed to persecution,"[510] or became the target of re-conversion efforts—they would be 'saved' through being persuaded to go "back"[511] to the "nobler and better religion,"[512] i.e. Christianity. Alternatively, they could become a source of amusement.

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[504] Akcasu, "Migrants to Citizens," 407.
[505] "Editorial Notes," *The Crescent* (6 February 1895).
[506] "Imperial Message from the Caliph of the Faithful to the British Muslims," *The Crescent* (18 November 1903).
[507] *The Crescent* (12 September 1900).
[508] "Celebration of the Courban Bairam in Liverpool," *The Crescent* (15 January 1908).
[509] Ansari, *The Infidel within*.
[510] "Moslems Mobbed," *Hull Daily Mail* (18 November 1891).
[511] Pool, *Studies in Mohammedanism: Historical and Doctrinal,* xv. Pool specifically addressed his intention of "leading some members of the Liverpool Moslem Institute back to the faith of their fathers."
[512] Ibid., 413.

Sections of a 1902 article on "Islam in England: Converting the British" in the *Dundee Evening Post* are worth citing at length, as they touch upon the emergence, development, and experiences of the Liverpool convert community:

> Does the reader realise that there are domes and minarets here in England ... a Moslem "conversion" of England has been in progress for the past few years...Ten or twelve years ago a Liverpool solicitor heard a lecture on Mohammedanism. He became a convert, embraced the faith, and from plain Mr W. H. Quilliam he emerged as Abdullah Quilliam Effendi ... He at once began lecturing, and in a few months he had some converts. A mosque was built, a school, a lecture hall, and a weekly newspaper called The Crescent, was founded to preach the doctrines of Mohammed. A great deal of this propaganda was done at Quilliam's expense ...The new movement made headway, but its upward progress was marked by scoffing comments, which at times ran perilously near to persecution. "Unbelievers" attended their meetings, and shouted jeering comments. Tin whistles and mouth organs drowned the devotions of the little band. The crowning indignity was reached one Friday in the mosque, when a man in the strangers' gallery threw a parcel of black puddings and sausages right on the centre of the floor, in the midst of the Faithful. But as the novelty wore off the movement was left alone ... To-day there are over 200 members—nearly all of them Britishers and the inhabitants of the city have not only grown to tolerate them, but have come to take an interested delight in their holy days and fasts, their festivals, their marriages, and their burials ... Abdullah has got on, and he has a position of some importance in the Muslim world. To beign with he is the legal adviser to the Sultan of Turkey, who is the Caliph of the Moslem world, and he has frequently been summoned to Constantinople to see the Sultan on business matters. Recognising his zeal, Abdul Hamid has conferred upon him the title of "Sheikh-ul-Islam of the British Isles," that is to say, head of the Mohammedan community in this country."[513]

Before the Liverpool Muslim community became something that could be described as "picturesque ... a bit of the East transplanted into the West,"[514] they risked assault. At the root of it was the metanarrative that summarized the Muslim community to be something quaint that belonged to "the East," but was "transplanted into the West."[515] In other words, it was inconceivable that both extremes could be indigenous, and negotiated within the natural-born British citizen. Anglo-Muslims were disadvantaged as a consequence of the divisive rhetoric of civilizational divides. In being denied the expression of their spiritual and political identities, equally and simultaneously, they were foreignized in their homelands. Having been made to feel that Abdülhamid was their generous, supreme, and just commander of faith, and was personally interested in their welfare, some sought to re-harmonize the division that was imposed upon them in the sultan's 'well-protected dominions.'

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[513] "Islam in England: Converting the British," *Dundee Evening Post* (1 April 1902).
[514] Ibid.
[515] Ibid.

From Foreignized Convert to Naturalized Ottoman: A Single Woman in Istanbul

In the final year of the Great War, the Foreign Office received a letter from a "M. M. Thompson" of 165 Salisbury Road, Everton, Liverpool. Her enquiry took the same form as others who were concerned about the welfare of relatives and friends who were British nationals, yet still resident in the Ottoman territories over the duration of the war. Thompson's inquiry was about "a gentleman known as Ahmed Robinson;"[516] she said it was her fiancée and that he had been working at the "Posté Centralé [*sic*] Péra."[517] The letter revealed that the Brighton-born Ahmet was "about 27 years of age," and that his mother who was "married to a major in the Turkish army who is named Fahri Bey... [was] known at the British Embassy, Constantinople, as Mrs. Robinson."[518] On the "fresh form" provided to her, Thompson wrote to Ahmed: "My dear, Where and how are you? Where is your mother and youngest brother? Is there any hope of your coming to England after the war? Love, Faithfully yours, May."[519] Ahmed had (at least) two brothers and a sister, they were all generation 1.5: their mother, Mrs. Fatimah Robinson, had migrated to the Ottoman dominions after they had been born.

The Robinson brothers (Ahmet, Yakup, and Abdurrahman) became quite well known in certain circles within the Ottoman capital. They attended the prestigious *Mekteb-i Sultani* high school, were co-founders of the Galatasaray football club, and Ahmed, who sometimes signed his name as "Kaleci Ahmet Robinson" [*goalkeeper* Ahmet Robinson] in letters to his Galatasaray club friends,[520] is even credited with introducing the country to scouting.[521] Abdurrahman is commemorated as a "*şehit*" [martyr], as he was among those who attended *Mekteb-i Sultan-i* and went on to fight and die in the Great War. In fact, Abdurrahman had already died by the time Thompson had written. A doctor who had attended to him at the Bayburt Menzil Hospital wrote in his letter to Ahmet that his brother had passed away at 4, *alaturca* time, on 11 April 1915.[522] Yakup's fate was different; a report that concerned his fate was circulated on

[516] F.O. 383/345, #213897/1244/P. (19 November 1917).
[517] TNA. F.O. 383/345, #213897/1244/P. (19 November 1917).
[518] TNA. F.O. 383/345, #213897 (8 November 1917).
[519] TNA. F.O. 383/345, #213897/1244/P. (19 November 1917).
[520] Galatasaray Müzesi. No. 136. 30.8.1913. Digital: KL.11.11.
[521] The Galatasaray Museum in Istanbul has some biographical information about the Robinsons, as well as photographs and letters. I would like to thank Çağlar Şavkay for his hospitality and help on my visits, and, especially, for providing me with copies of the letters.
[522] Galatasaray Müzesi. Digital. KL.21.304 [29 Mart 1331].

11 November 1916.[523] The military tribunal had condemned him to death for treason; he was specifically guilty of committing espionage on behalf of the British government.[524] Documents in the Ottoman archives, including the briefing on Yakup's death sentence, signal that the Robinsons' story has been slightly mythologized in Turkish memory—not the least because the briefing on Yakup's wartime activities refers to him as Abdullah Quilliam's son.[525]

Ahmet Robinson was the only brother to survive the Great War. He did end up settling in the newly emergent Republic of Turkey. The fact that he was the president of the Galatasaray Football Club in 1926 locates him in Turkey in the early-Republican Era;[526] though it is widely believed that he left the country in 1929 and emigrated to the United States in 1935.[527] The mythological element of the Robinson biography becomes a cause for concern in light of the realization that Sara Korle's New York interview with Ahmet Robinson, published in a 1965 issue of *Hayat* [Life] magazine appears to be the basis of the family's history.[528] Given the fact this research began with a scan of individuals listed in the İstanbul Ansiklopedisi who were born beyond the Ottoman domains and died in Istanbul,[529] the near-repetition of Ahmet story in the two accounts is suspect. According to this traditional account, Ahmet is of noble lineage.[530] His father is a Rhodes and his mother belonged to a family who had attained fame in the arts, sciences, and literature.[531] His mother is said to have converted to Islam prior to leaving England for India, where his father started cultivating tea, and where Ahmet was born—"on the skirts of the Himalayas."[532] His mother is said to have left India for Istanbul when her husband, and her children's father, died there.[533] Abdülhamid apparently took an interest in the family, gave them a home in the Akaret-i Seniye,[534] which were newly-constructed row houses that were tied to the palace in the neighborhood of

[523] BOA.İ.DUİT.173.90/15 Safer 1335 [11 November 1916].
[524] Ibid.
[525] BOA.İ.DUİT.173.90/15 Safer 1335 [11 November 1916].
[526] Galatasaray Müzesi.
[527] Sara Korle, "Ahmet Robinson'u New York'ta Buldum!" *Hayat* 26 (24 June 1965), 9.
[528] Ibid.
[529] *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı ve Tarih Vakfı, 1993-95).
[530] Korle, "Ahmet Robinson'u New York'ta Buldum!," 9.
[531] Ibid.
[532] Ibid.
[533] Ibid.
[534] Ibid.

Beşiktaş, a region that was more "upper-income" than it was "Muslim."[535] According to Ahmet's 1965 interview, his mother, Fatemah,[536] is buried in Üsküdar's Sultantepesi.[537]

The mystery surrounding the Robinson family is beyond the scope of this research, as it is a topic to pursue in and of itself. Unofficial theories include the possibility of Yakup, Ahmet, and/or Abdurrahman being the children of Quilliam, especially since Quilliam defended and practiced polygamy and kept his marriage to another women in Liverpool (and the five children that came out of it) a secret, "the mystery is how he managed to keep his two families out of the media spotlight considering the scrutiny that he was under in Liverpool from 1893 to 1907."[538] The possibility of the Robinson children being the result of another "liaison"[539] can be considered, especially since Yakup is mentioned as the "son of Quilliam" in the aforementioned military tribunal,[540] an Ahmet (with given name Quilliam) who was mentioned to be the son of Abdullah Quilliam was registered at the *Mekteb-i Sultani*, with board and free of charge, in 1899.[541] Though some anomalies like these will be addressed, the focus here is on Fatemah. Her relevance in the context of this research is the State's accommodation of her as a Anglo-Muslim convert. The question her story seeks to answer is space the Hamidian regime made for such individuals, according to its vision for the nation it was forming.

Fatemah can be presumed to be one of those among the Liverpool convert community who found the accessibility and guardianship that was propagated by the Liverpool Moslem Institute and *The Crescent* more favorable than the prospects of living in her native city, which, by the time she had left it had not yet evolved into a society that found the lives and rituals of the converts to be a quaint spectacle, as it was mentioned to have become in the 1 April 1902 issue of the *Dundee Evening Post*.[542] Thus, Fatemah sought belonging in the 'well-protected domains;' "[t]he accessibility of the Sultan that extraterritorial Ottomanism propagated empowered the convert-migrant to appeal to his benevolence on the simple ground of having accepted the Muslim

[535] Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986), 39.
[536] The spelling of Fatemah's name is according to how she wrote it herself, rather than the Turkish version, which is Fatma.
[537] Korle, "Ahmet Robinson'u New York'ta Buldum!," 9.
[538] Geaves, *Islam in Victorian England*, 53.
[539] This is the word Geaves uses to describe Quilliam's extramarital relationship.
[540] BOA.İ.DUİT.173.90/15 Safer 1335 [11 November 1916].
[541] BOA. MF.MKT.445.33/07 Zilhicce 1316 [18 April1899].
[542] "Islam in England: Converting the British," *Dundee Evening Post* (1 April 1902).

faith."[543]Once within the territorial Ottoman domains, converts sought the space they were led to believe they could claim. If a convert sought political membership in the Ottoman nation-under-formation, they had an advantage over others because Article 4 of the Nationality Law that allowed the state to reserve the right to confer nationality to exceptional individuals who had not met other conditions was where the State's "bias to attribute Ottoman nationality to those individuals who had converted to Islam" [544] could be expressed. Single convert women were doubly privileged, as they received what would ordinarily be considered citizen-benefits upon declaring their conversion, prior to their political assimilation as Ottomans. Fatemah's appearance on in the Ottoman records corroborates these assumptions. Though it is unclear when she entered the borders of the 'exalted state,' exactly, it is certain that she was in Istanbul and in a state of destitute by 1892.

Much like the British home state operating out of the Ottoman dominions, the Ottomans also had a procedure for responding to women in a state of financial need. The common course of action for the British was to cover the costs of a one way trip home, presumably for the same reason that Habsburg sex-workers were extradited: to prevent the image of the Great Power state that was becoming more and more invested in a cultural mission within the sultan's dominions from being tarnished. Fatemah may have been in a state of destitute, but she was not interested in going back to England. Instead of appealing to her natural-born home state, she appealed to her host state. She described her circumstances in a letter that was composed in English and addressed to the Grand Vizier Ahmet Cevat Paşa, "I beg to throw myself and my little ones upon the mercy of the State in our present state of need. As we are absolutely without money." [545] She included with her letter a note for Abdullah Quilliam, along with the note that she would like a missive to be passed to him, if the State should find its contents appropriate. [546] Through mentioning Quilliam, she was able to establish herself as a potential link to Ottoman interests and image abroad, in the mainland that was the State's greatest Great Power competitor. She could not only bolster the caliph's image as it would be presented through Quilliam's press, but she could also demonstrate to the British public that the sultan looked out for the welfare of the 'free Western' woman more than the Great Power states that assumed a higher moral consciousness. Her letter

[543] Akcasu, "Migrants to Citizens," 409.
[544] Cardahi, "La Conception et la pratique du droit international privé dans l'Islam," 533.
[545] BOA. HR.TO.537.27 (13 June 1892).
[546] Ibid.

was translated and forwarded as '*perakende*' [distress]. Soon enough, she was living in the home described in Ahmet's interview with Korle, at the *Akaret-i Seniyye*.

The home that Fatimah was given by the State was no.107.[547] The monumental cores of her district were the Ottoman palaces that symbolized the modernization of the State through their relocation across the Bosporus (Dolmabahçe, Çırağan, and Yıldız Palaces).[548] Fatemah's residential core was, essentially, the Ottoman state, since over the course of the Hamidian years, the palace held more importance than the Porte. She was far from what had been described as the Muslim section of the city, and much closer to the *Frengistan* of Beyoğlu. That Fatemah was also a short walk away from the sultan's Italian court painter's studio-residence is a testament to the status of the neighborhood she (and her connections) were seen fit for. Fausto Zonaro lived and worked on the same street, at no. 50. Zonaro's visitors walked up the same street as Fatemah and included the likes of "Recaizade Ekrem, Şevket Cenani, Winston Churchill, Adoplhe Thalasso, Camille Flammarion, Alexander Nelidow, Ohannes B. Dadian, Max Olaf Heckmann and Marshall von Bieberstein, and the crown princes Abdülmecid and Burhaneddin Efendis.[549] Aside from the home for which she was not obliged to pay rent, [550] the State also provided Fatimah a monthly allowance, which she on more than one occasion requested to have increased.[551]

The accounts of who Fatemah was married to or how many children she had (along with the identity of the father/s) yield inconsistencies. The traditional account based on Korle's 1965 interview claims that Fatemah was married to a member of the Rhodes family; neither this brief clipping nor (the even briefer) entry in the *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* mentions how many children she had. In fact, it takes a lot of corroboration with alternative sources like state memoranda and newspaper accounts to realize that she also had at least one daughter. Ron Geaves, for example, gives the account of one of Quilliam's Istanbul trips with his son, Ahmet, in 1899,

> ... [a]n invitation to attend the Yildiz Palace arrived for the day after their arrival, but even before that event, several significant figures visited the Quilliams at the

[547] BOA. İ.HUS.85.86/ 29 Receb 1318 [22 November 1900].
[548] For more on the urban and architectural regeneration of late-Ottoman Istanbul, see *Akaret-i Seniyye*, see Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*.
[549] Arzu Eceoğlu, "Dolmabahçe Sarayında Dört Büyük Salonda İç Mimaride Kullanılan Renkler," (unpublished thesis), T.C. İstanbul Kültür Üniversitesi Fen Bilimler Enstitüsü (2007), 50f.
[550] BOA. Y.MTV.294.127/ 29 Zilhicce 1324 [13 February 1907] and Y.MTV. 311.115/23 Cemaziyelevvel 1326 [23 June 1908].
[551] BOA. BEO.428.34339/16 Safer 1312 [19 August 1894].

> hotel, including Fatima Hanoum, the former Mrs Robinson of Liverpool, who had renounced Christianity after marrying her husband Ahmed Bari, and officer in the Turkish army, who had already been highly decorated by the Sultan. Quilliam observed with approval that Mrs Robinson and her daughters were veiled.[552]

At the end of the trip, Ahmed Quilliam remained in Istanbul and was enrolled as a boarding student at the *Mekteb-i Sutlani*, also at the State's expense.[553] It is claimed in the above section that the order of events in Fatemah's life was that 1) she moved to Istanbul 2) she married Ahmed Bari, and, "after" these, 3) she renounced Christianity and converted to Islam. Instead, the letter to the Ottoman government says she is Muslim and penniless, but does not mention a husband, certainly not a Turkish one that was an officer in the Ottoman army (which would have made it unlikely that she was penniless, to begin with—though she did continue to receive an allowance from the state after marrying an Ottoman captain).

It is highly unlikely that the story reported by Quilliam and referenced by Geaves is accurate with respects to Fatemah having converted after marrying a Turkish officer. That she was from Liverpool is accepted, however, especially since it also explains her relationship to Quilliam—regardless of the extent of its intimacy. Neither is 'Ahmed Bari' the name that is mentioned by Thompson in her letter to Ahmet Robinson.[554] Thompson instead mentions "a major in the Turkish army who is named Fahri Bey."[555] One can take a moment and give Quilliam the benefit of the doubt, and consider that "Bari" may simply be a misspelling of "Fahri," especially since Quilliam frequently misspelled Ottoman words, both in his press and in his personal correspondences. The cover of the 12 September 1900 issue, for example, exclaimed, in bold letters, "Padishahim Chok Yarshah!" A sample of a misspelling in his personal correspondence can also be found in Quilliam's 1905 letter to Salonica's Inspector General Hilmi Paşa. He expressed delight,

> ...that frightful liar (yajurdji va haranzade) [Henry Noel] Brailsford has met with his deserts at last. He has been found conspiring with other persons to get false passports and give them to revolutionary individuals to enter Russia.[556]

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[552] Geaves, *Islam in Victorian Britain*, 226.
[553] Ibid., 227 and BOA. MF.MKT.445.33/07 Zilhicce 1316 [18 April1899].
[554] The Robinsons' story becomes even murkier, since M. M. Thompson who tried to contact Ahmet Robinson in 1917 is presumably same Liverpudlian Martha May Peters that Quilliam defended and won a case of divorce for, from Enoch Griffiths Thompson (whom she had married in 1889 and had a child from), by fabricating evidence and false testimony (Geaves, *Islam in Victorian Britain*, 254). This also casts doubt onto whether M. M. Thompson was ever engaged to Ahmet, and the real intentions of this letter that was communicated to him.
[555] TNA. F.O. 383/345, no. 213897 (8 November 1917).
[556] BOA. TFR.I.M.25.2452/21 Rabiulevvel 1323 [26 May 1905].

Whether Bari is Quilliam's version of Fahri, the way in which "*yalurdji*" is Quilliam's version of "*yalancı/yalanji*" and "yarshah" was *The Crescent*'s version of "*yaşa/yasha*,"[557] what the Ottoman records show is that Fatemah was married to Kolağası [captain] Ahmet Bey, who may have also been Fahri Bey. This information is found in a report dating to November 1900 that refers to a 200 *kuruş* raise to the salary of the convert Fatemah who was living at *Akaret-i Seniyye*, no. 107, and was the wife of Kolağası Ahmet Bey.[558] Given the conditions of her appearance in the Ottoman records, however, it is unlikely that she converted to Islam after marriage. Regarding her children, it is clear that she at least four, though may have had more from her new marriage to an Ottoman, or even from her previous one. What is clear is that the children were socialized as Muslims: the sons all had Muslim names and the girls were veiled.

The generosity that the State extended to Fatemah was also extended to her children. They attended state schools, which were paid for by the Hamidian regime.[559] Along with Fatemah's generous board and allowance, the free education of her children demonstrates that she was given citizen-benefits upon arriving to the Ottoman domains and declaring her conversion. The school that the boys attended (the *Mekteb-i Sutlani*) clearly articulated in its annual booklet of costs, curricula, students, and regulations, that

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[557] It is often put forth that Quilliam took up the name H. M. Léon after 1908 (Geaves, *Islam in Victorian Britain*). Quilliam's grasp of the Ottoman language, so far as it can be observed in *The Crescent* and in his personal correspondences advise caution against accepting at which point the characters of Quilliam H. M. Léon merged (if, at all). H. M. Léon contributed to *The Crescent* and also published a volume titled *Sheikh Abdullah: A Turkish Poet, and His Poetry (Being the Life of Sheikh Haroun Abdullah: Chief of the Mevlevi Dervishes, an eminent Osmanli poet; with Translations of his Mystic and other Poems, and a Glossary of Turkish words* (Blackburn: G. Toulmin & Sons, 1916). Geaves accepts that this work was actually written by Quilliam under the pseudonym of the individual whose name he took to conceal his identity after the latter's likely death (Geaves, *Islam in Victorian Britain,* 258). This takes a leap, however, since there is a clear inconsistency between the authors notes in the preface about his having composed the work while residing in Istanbul as Abdülhamid's guest, from 1903 until 1909 (at least) and Quilliam's whereabouts at the same time. Geaves acknowledges the discrepancy, especially since Quilliam was still publishing *The Crescent* at this time, but still assumes that Quilliam is the author. It is important to note that the publication dates of *The Crescent* are not a reliable proof of Quilliam being in Liverpool on the dates that the issue was being prepared. In fact, there is reason to assume that *The Crescent* was not actually released when it was printed—not the least because the dates between the Gregorian and Hicri calendars that are sometimes very off and do not correspond, especially in 1908. Aside from this, which raises more questions than answers, there is a profound gap between Quilliam and the author and translator of the work on Sheikh Haroun Abdullah, when it comes to their command of the Ottoman language—to the degree that it would be a greater leap to accept that Quilliam could have produced this work than not.

[558] BOA. İ.HUS. 85.86/ 29 Receb 1318 [22 November 1900].

[559] BOA. MF.MKT.444.57/ 06 Zilhicce 1316 [17 April 1899].

certain pupils could be awarded a discount on tuition. It also expressed, however, that a reduced cost of tuition was reserved only for Ottomans.[560] Modern education serves the function of benefiting the state through indoctrinating young minds, giving them a sense of association with the propagated official national identity and instilling in them a sense of investment in the cause of the Ottoman homeland.[561] Here, the *Mekteb-i Sultani* seems to have either succeeded with the Robinsons or to have given them the tools to persuade Ottoman authorities that they were invested Ottomans, willing to volunteer for the Ottoman war effort against their former home state.[562] As interesting as it this is and whether their motives were contrary to Ottoman interests or, instead, their devotion to the Ottoman state was genuine is beside the fact that the state treated them as Ottomans for a very long time. Though her children did not, Fatemah remained an Ottoman (and then became Turkish). Wherever the truth lies in Fatemah's story, what is relevant in relation to the Hamidian vision of the national is that she could *become* an Ottoman. More significantly, she was given the benefits of *being* an Ottoman prior to naturalization.

It is granted that Fatemah's story is not an ordinary one—perhaps no story is every ordinary. Her associations with Quilliam, however, make it especially difficult to generalize the State's accommodation of her as a rule for Great Power convert women who were single and destitute and arrived in the Ottoman domains with their offspring. She certainly exploited circumstances in a manner that would serve her best interest. Wherever the truth lies in her story and whatever her value was for Hamidian regime, she did share something both with other single convert women and with other Great Power women who had been marginalized in their home states. While the level of financial support she and her offspring received from the State was substantial enough to evidence privileged status, what set her apart from other converts was the quantity that she received, not the particulars of the care. The Hamidian regime protected single convert and born-Muslim women, both citizen and foreigner. When they addressed their grievances or state of destitute, the Sultan made little differentiation amongst their nation when he provided them social welfare. The State was not preoccupied with the

[560] *Mekteb-i Sultani 1308 Sene-i Hicriyesi Tevz-i Mükafat Cedvelidir* (Konstantiniye: Matbaa Abu al-Ziya).
[561] See Benjamin C. Fortna, *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the state and education in the late Ottoman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002) for a study of the features of Hamidian-era schools and how they conveyed a sense of unity across the empire. The analysis of the use of maps is especially interesting.
[562] İ.DUİT.173.90/15 Safer 1335 [11 December 1916].

implications of giving single convert women citizen benefits when they were not nationals, since many of these women eventually became Ottomans through marriage. In fact, when they pleaded with the State, they asked for assistance until their eventual marriage.

The stories of eastbound European female converts are analogous to the Austro-Hungarian sex-workers that Malte Fuhrmann[563] has written about in the realm of nation-negation.[564] In the end, the States that marginalized these women's existence were unable to persuade them that birth land, descent, culture, and linguistic identifications (the raw material of nineteenth-century belonging as it was marketed to the constituency) necessitated uncontested belonging in their constructed nations. The natural-born status of women on either end of this traditional spectrum of morality did not serve their interests in the same manner that it served the stereotypical—and partly fictitious—Great Power woman that was living in Pera and perpetuating the *status quo*. The Great Power woman who was not an agent of her home-state's cultural mission abroad, could feel sentimental belonging in Ottoman society, as a member of its constituency. For the Ottoman state to offer her protection that was denied her in a home state that was neither interested in the welfare nor the visibility of women who did not uphold their version of the civilizational discourse only confirmed the notion that they were foreignized from their own societies; "[m]arginalization, exclusion, and abuse had made it evident that Western promises, for them, were deferred in their homelands."[565] By seeking alternate belongings, the women reasserted power over their fates.

The anonymity that Fatemah exploited in her relationship with the Ottoman state is an opportunity that is provided to every 'foreigner' upon relocation. When an individual relocates to a locality to which they have no ties, in the absence of individuals and records that are able to contest their versions of their identities, it goes without saying that they become the authors of their own histories; "transnational mobility granted individuals anonymity and allowed them to forge their identities on their own terms rather than be assigned one by states or rhetoric."[566] Sometimes, joining a State that one's home state had announced its total supremacy over (social, economic, political,

[563] Fuhrmann, "'Western Perversions' at the Threshold of Felicity."
[564] Akcasu, "Migrants to Citizens."
[565] Ibid., 412.
[566] Ibid.

intellectual, moral, civilizational) in the metanarrative yielded more dividends than symbolically 'belonging' to this higher civilization and perpetuating its myth. Great Power metanarratives presented a stark dichotomy between enslaved 'Oriental' women and their free 'Western' counterparts. Alternatively, upon the stark realization that, sometimes, "no one is more a slave than the man who thinks himself free while he is not,"[567] it may have prompted the election of alternate national affinities.[568] Similar to Fuhrmann's non-Muslim Great Power subjects who were linked to the Ottoman underworld, "European converts who independently migrated to the Ottoman dominions to claim a place in its nation were agents who claimed the active and determining function in the process of nation negation."[569] Social outcasts, by their mere visibility in the lands of their Great Power states' cultural engagement, held the powerful potential to challenge their states' narratives and to pierce the thin veil of a higher culture and morality.[570] The marginalized outcasts of Great Power societies fulfilled this potential when they rejected their nations, and, in their transnational liminal state, found harmony between their sentimental and national belongings in opting to become Ottomans.[571]

International power dynamics rendered some foreigners in the Ottoman dominions more visible than others. Often viewed as the personification of the nations of their de facto, natural-born, allegiances, degrees of visibility were often tied to the level of competition their home states presented to the Ottoman state in a variety of fields, e.g. social, economic, political. In the Hamidian era, it follows that Great Power citizens who maintained their nationalities acquired extra visibility because their home states were more fierce competitors than others. It was in the interest of some immigrants to capitalize on the legal status afforded by citizenship, and by extension, national identity, to secure a social position—the 'civilizational progress' their nations were associated with elevated them. Their relative visibility of Great Power subjects (elaborated on in the last chapter) was a pattern, though not a universal rule. One's nationality did not always reflect his/her dominant identification or, even, primary attachment. If the were neither persuaded by their natural-born belonging, nor the perpetuators of their home-

[567] Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Elective Affinities*, Vol. 2 (New York: Collier, 19—) [Digital Version: https://archive.org/details/elective affiniti00goetuoft], 243.
[568] This is a play on the title of Goethe's work, and assumes the validity of the notion that national affinities were also, to a certain extent, elective.
[569] Akcasu, "Migrants to Citizens," 412.
[570] Fuhrmann, "'Western Perversions' at the Threshold of Felicity," 169.
[571] Akcasu, "Migrants to Citizens," 413.

state's rhetoric, Great Power nationals became invisible, as well—both to contemporary observers and in the historical record. Less visible, or, in some cases, in-visible, foreigners arguably have the potential to reveal more about the late-Ottoman state and its construction of national identity. A great component of the venture of nation formation is, after all, the building of "political and legal barriers to exclude all but their own citizens."[572] What exclusion was based upon is paramount in understanding the late-Ottoman state—especially for an era that is undergoing as much revision as the Hamidian. Great Power outcasts—either prostitute or convert— were not excluded. The Hamidian constituency grew when becoming an Ottoman presented itself as the best expression of harmony between their sentimental and national belongings.

[572] Woolf, *Nationalism in Europe, 1815 to the Present,* 1.

> *"The Persian colony in Constantinople have threatened to become Turkish subjects unless the Shah restores the Parliamentary régime in Persia."*[573]

Multiple belongings, Long-Distance Nationalism: Iranians

After having diversified the nature of the Great Power foreigner in Hamidian Istanbul with converts to Islam, it becomes necessary to diversify the nature of the Muslim foreigner in the Ottoman dominions. The cases under observation here concerns those who came from a non-Great Power state, specifically Qajar Iran. Iranian residents of the Ottoman domains have been used as a litmus test in the historiography for whether or not the Hamidian state was pan-Islamic and/or exclusivist. In these arguments, they have often been coupled with Algerians to prove that the State was not pan-Islamist, because certain restrictions were placed upon them—especially with respect to marriage and reproductivity (with Ottoman women). The consequences of not abiding by the rules set by the State were articulated to be banishment from the dominions. Thus, the cases of Iranians have supported the exclusivist theory: namely, "it was no longer enough to be a Muslim, or indeed a Sunni."[574] Though the historiography has evaluated the Hamidian state's rhetoric against Iranians as exclusionary in nature, especially with regard to its intentions to prevent the spread of Shi'i Islam in the frontier provinces,[575] it is argued here that national interest took dominance (over other considerations, such as what the State identified as heterodox Islam). This did not translate into the State preferring the expulsion of Iranians from the dominions, instead, it promoted their naturalization. Regarding Iranians, the Hamidian state was expansionist rather than exclusivist. The significant Iranian population of Istanbul and its increase over the course of the Hamidian years, reveals a discrepancy between the Hamidian state's text and praxis, as these pertained to foreign Iranians.

The Algerian-Iranian comparison (corresponding to the insufficiency of the Muslim and Sunni identities, respectively) is justified by the demonstration that the two nationalized identities were, in fact, viewed in the same light by the Ottoman state, at least once. Using this instance, Deringil continues to elaborate on the insufficiency of the previously mentioned identifiers for the Hamidian state by stating that,

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[573] "News in a Nutshell," *Hendon & Finchley Times* (7 August 1908).
[574] Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains*, 55.
[575] See, for example, Kern, "Rethinking Ottoman Frontier Policies," and *Imperial Citizen*, and Deringil, "The Struggle Against Shiism in Hamidian Iraq."

> ...nothing illustrates this better than the case of the Algerians seeking asylum in the Ottoman dominions after the French invasion of Algeria. The issue which caused the Ottomans headache was the legal status of Algerians who had immigrated to the province of Syria, ostensibly escaping from the *dar ul harb*. Some of these elements worked to live in the Ottoman dominions while conserving their French passports, thus benefiting from the special privileges as French subjects living in Ottoman lands. On 20 November 1889, the Sublime Porte issued a decree stating that they would be required to choose within two years of their arrival whether to remain French citizens and leave, or to be automatically considered Ottoman citizens and stay. They Algerians of French allegiance would be forbidden to marry Ottoman women, and any Algerian contravening this regulation 'would be treated according to the regulations pertaining to Iranians' and would be forced to leave Ottoman soil.[576]

The conditions imposed on Iranians and Algerians thus appear to be quite severe. It is significant in light of our understanding of the status of foreigners in the Hamidian regime, which has previously been characterized as pan-Islamist, that neither were given preferential treatment solely on account of their religious adherence. In her work on imperial citizenship in the late-Ottoman state, Michelle Campos uses the same nationalized identities to support a similar thesis. She coherently summarizes that it was not the aim of the late-Ottoman state to "expand its Muslim population at any cost."[577] Elaborating on the essence and conceptualization of the texts that rationalized nineteenth-century identities, she argues that,

> ...the Ottoman citizenship law was not broadly pan-Islamic, for at the same time citizenship also aimed to further mark the border between Ottoman and non-Ottoman Muslims, playing a particularly important role in the eastern frontier of the empire with Qajar Iran, where the Ottoman citizenship law penalized Ottoman women who married Iranian men, requiring them to forfeit their citizenship. A similarly tough attitude was taken toward Algerians resident in the empire who sought to marry Ottoman women but refused to forfeit their French nationality or protection.[578]

The non-preferential treatment of Iranians (and Algerians) has therefore been useful to support the argument that the State was 'exclusivist' in favor of Sunni-Ottomans, i.e. "it was no longer enough to be a Muslim, or indeed a Sunni."[579] Engaging with the dialogue initiated by Deringil, Kern, and Campos, this chapter poses for consideration the possibility that, in the final analysis, it was the Iranian's (and Algerian's)[580] personal choice of national allegiance rather than his or her religion that was more consequential

[576] Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains*, 55.
[577] Campos, *Ottoman Brothers,* 62.
[578] Ibid.
[579] Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains*, 55.
[580] After the invasion, Algerians became French nationals.

for the Hamidian state in its nation-building process. Especially since an Iranian was not exclusively 'Muslim.'

The Turco-Iranian Zone: Push, Pull, and Shove

The State was an absolutist dynasty ruling over an ethno-religiously diverse and polyglot populace. It was in the process of centralizing, modernizing, and attempting nationalization within a rationalizing framework. The regime's administration of its natural-born constituency included the denial of newly idealized civil liberties. Constitutionalist ambitions that would have curtailed the absolutist monarch's power were especially suppressed, the freedom of the press was denied, and dissidence was not tolerated. The Great Powers threatened the State's command of its own citizens, autonomy over its domestic industries and ventures (e.g. through missionary schools, capitulatory privileges, and concessions), as well as its territorial integrity, all the while holding its economy and infrastructure hostage with incurred reparations and debt. These challenges were supplemented by a relatively ineffective military, which the State sought to ameliorate with the aid of the very same Great Powers, in whose interest it seemed to keep the development of its might beneath a certain threshold of strength. Among the Powers, the two that presented the State the greatest obstacles over the course of the late nineteenth century were the British and Russian—much of the State's foreign policy relied upon playing them off one another. Due to these circumstances, this critical juncture has often been summarized as the State's 'decline'—imminent demise was on a bleak horizon. Given that the above description is fitting for both, in some ways, the Hamidian state experienced a similar reality to its Iranian counterpart. One was the topic of the 'Eastern Question' and the other the 'Great Game.'

The Ottoman and Qajar trajectories of change and their impetuses for defensive modernization shared notable commonalities and relative synchronicity at the outset of the nineteenth century. In fact, the Qajar state is assumed to have attempted reform along an Ottoman model. [581] Due to its historical circumstances and un-tackled obstacles to its legitimacy, however, the Qajar state was a less aggressive centralizer. The Qajars were a new dynasty and had arrived on the historical-political scene after a century of turmoil on the Iranian plateau; "[b]efore Aga Muhammad Khan could place the Kayanid throne on his head in 1785, three generations of Qajars had lost their lives

[581] See Abbas Amanat, *Pivot of the Universe: Nasir al-Din Shah and the Iranian Monarchy* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2008).

in the struggle for the throne."[582] Perhaps more significant were the obstacles to the Qajar monarch's ability to pacify internal opposition (e.g. the *ulema-bazaari* alliance) the way that the Ottomans had, by integrating the interests of its opposition into the interest of the State with the *Sened-i Ittifak*, for example—pacification was a precondition for effective centralization and reform.[583] A series of defeats and territorial losses against their shared adversary, Russia, nevertheless made both states recognize an urgent need for change. In the aftermath of sobering wars that left each shackled to reparations and capitulations to different degrees, and faced with different realities, that change should begin with the military was recognized as crucial. In Azerbaijan, Crown Prince Abbas Mirza had locally initiated a Qajar 'modernity.' In the same vein as the post-Napoleonic models of reform undertaken in Mehmed Ali's Egypt and by the Ottoman state, he had even established a 'New Order' (*Nizam-ı Cedid*).[584] Due to the contrasts between his local achievements and the path taken by the central government after his death, Abbas Mirza has retrospectively been memorialized as the lost promise for the destiny of Iran.

The reigns of Mohammad Shah Qajar (r. 1834 – 1848) and Nasir al-Din Shah (r. 1848 – 1896) have suffered similar historiographical fates as the nineteenth century Ottoman sultans in terms of agency and complexity. Similar to the Tanzimat sultans, Mohammad Shah Qajar was seen as a puppet of foreign powers and bureaucrats; his coming to the throne was "assured thanks to diplomatic and military support displayed by the British, with the consent of the Russians."[585] His reign has been studied less under the light of reform than inefficiency, civil unrest, mob violence, widespread economic discontent, alienation of minorities, and religious persecution.[586] His successor, Nasir al-Din Shah, has traditionally been represented as *mélange* between the traditional historiographical representations of Sultan Abdülhamid II and his two

[582] Amanat, *Pivot of the Universe*, 2, for domestic and international circumstances of the emergence of the Qajar dynasty, also see, Maziar Behrooz, "From confidence to apprehension: Early Iranian interactions with Russia," in Stephanie Cronin ed., *Iranian-Russian Encounters: empires and revolutions since 1800* (London: Routledge, 2013), 49, 55.
[583] Nikki R. Keddie points out that the inability for Abbas Mirza's reform efforts to "expand was due not only to the lack of forceful, reforming Qajar leaders after him, but also to the opposition of decentralizing vested interests, which the center never felt strong enough to supress, see, Nikki R. Keddie, *Modern Iran: Roots and Results of Revolution* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2006), 40.
[584] Ibid., 27.
[585] Ibid., 44.
[586] Ibid. For the suppression of the Babi movement, see, Amanat, *Pivot of the Universe*, 133–134.

predecessors: a despot and a puppet, in one. His historical image was not aided by his reign being "inaugurated by formidable insurrections of the Bábís, Yezd, Níríz, Zanján, and in Mázandarán,"[587] and the State's harsh responses to each—especially the Babi. Similar to the Hanefization-Ottomanization efforts undertaken by Abdülhamid II in his 'Well-Protected Domains,'[588] Nasir al-Did Shah continued the 'Shi'ization' efforts in his own 'Well-Protected Domains' that had begun "first under the Safavids and later under the Qajars when Iran was facing the forces of Western hegemony in the nineteenth century."[589] Each campaign was met with great resistance from the local population on each side of the Ottoman-Qajar border (-zone),[590] and thus became one of the major push factors for those resisting homogenization.

Despite the difficulties that the religious homogenization of the core constituency presented to both the Ottomans and Qajars, the former dynasty still had an advantage. Namely, after their claim of the caliphate along with the conquest of the two holy cities in 1517, the Ottomans had achieved, along with religious legitimacy, the pretense to having the upper hand over the *ulema*—the caliph was the highest recognized authority in the Muslim world. The advantage was not guaranteed, however, as the Ottoman sultan's position as caliph also meant that his right to it could also be continually challenged. Abdülhamid had *ulema* opponents from the outset to the end of his reign. He famously mistrusted the *softas*—they had not only collaborated in the deposition of Sultan Abdülaziz,[591] but also supplied recruits for the oppositional Young Turk organization.[592] The fact that even the *Şeyhülislam* could present a threat was made evident in the months leading up to his accession, when Abdülaziz and Murad V were both overthrown by a *fetva* penned by *Şeyhülislam* Hayrullah Efendi (an individual more loyal to the Tanzimat bureaucrats, to whom he owed his timely promotion, than

[587] Edward Granville Brown, *A Year Amongst the Persians: Impressions as to the Life, Character, and Thought of the People of Persia, Received During Twelve Months' Residence in that Country in the Years 1887—8* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1893), 61.
[588] Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains*.
[589] Abbas Amanat, "The Historical Roots of the Persecution of the Babi and Baha'is in Iran," in Dominic Parviz Brookshaw and Seena B. Fazel eds., *The Baha'is in Iran: Socio-Historical Studies* (London: Routledge, 2008), 170. Both the Qajars and Ottomans referred to their states as being 'well-protected,' i.e. '*Memalik-i Mahruse-yi,*' though the terms are the same, the Persian translation is more often 'guarded' than 'well-protected.'
[590] For the Ottoman state, the nomadic Bedouin and Yezidi were particularly targeted in the State's Hanefization and Ottomanization efforts, see Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains*, 41.
[591] Fortna, "The Reign of Abdülhamid II," 42.
[592] Hanioğlu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, 58–9.

the sultan-caliph).[593] In his own capacity as the commander of the faithful, Abdülhamid was consistently faced with domestic and international efforts to delegitimize his claim and suitability for the caliphate.[594] The British effort to promote an Arab caliphate to secure rule over Muslims in colonial possessions, specifically, India, but also in semi-colonial Egypt, is an example of the latter.[595] Despite these challenges, however, Abdülhamid's position was stronger than Nasir al-Din Shah's, whose problem was that he had little religious legitimacy to begin with.

Abdülhamid II made an effort to preserve the sanctity of his spiritual position in the eyes of those he sought allegiance of in a way that Nasir al-Din Shah was unable to. This was visible to even those who were actively laboring to discredit Abdülhamid's religious authority, such as Wilfrid Scaven Blunt, "an ex-diplomat and self-appointed British agent in the Middle East."[596] Blunt sought the "return of the Caliphate to Cairo, and a formal renewal there by the Arabian mind of its lost religious leadership."[597] It seemed, however, that Abdülhamid's "triumph"[598] of consolidating his image and authority in the eyes of his previous opponents would present a formidable challenge to such an ambition. Blunt noted his observations of a *Selamlık* procession in April 1893,

> …what interested me most was the large number of Mohammedan Sheykhs and dignitaries from distant provinces of the empire, who followed the prayer outside the mosque and took part in the procession. This has been the triumph of Abdul Hamid's reign...as late as 1881, at war with the Sultan, now they are his guests, clothed in robes of honor.[599]

Abdülhamid had the benefit of being able to build on the centralization efforts of his predecessors in his ambition to achieve the complacency of former-oppositional religious groups, which made Blunt realize that the transfer he sought would occur either upon "the death of Abd el Hamid, or his fall from Empire."[600] The grip of the

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[593] Midhat Bey, *The Life of Midhat Pasha*, 82 and 98–9.
[594] See, for example, Ş. Tufan Buzpınar, "Opposition to the Ottoman Caliphate in the Early Years of Abdülhamid II: 1877-1882," *Die Welt Des Islams* 36, no. 1 (Mar. 1996): 59-89 and Hanioğlu, *Young Turks in Opposition*, 48-51, 84, 116, 152.
[595] See, for example, F.O. 539/18, No. 19, "Memoir by W.S. Blunt on the position of the Ottoman Sultans towards Islam," 24 July 1880 in Buzpınar, "Opposition to the Ottoman Caliphate," 85.
[596] Buzpınaar, "Opposition to the Ottoman Caliphate," 71.
[597] Blunt, *The Future of Islam*, ix.
[598] Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, *My Diaries: Being a Personal Narrative of Events, 1888-1914* (London: Martin Secker, 1919-1920), 102.
[599] Ibid. For more descriptions of the *Selamlık*, see Aïché Osmanoğlu, *Avec mon père le Sultan Abdulhamid: de son palais à prison* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1991) and Andrew Ryan, *The Last of the Dragomans* (London: Black, 1903).
[600] Blunt, *The Future of Islam*, ix.

State had already started being tightened—perhaps most severely with Mahmud II (1808—39). In addition to curbing the domestic religio-political resistance, Abdülhamid nourished, consolidated, and capitalized on his religious legitimacy in the eyes of the *umma* and "contested" [601] for the loyalty of those whose political allegiance was claimed by other states. For Shi'i Iranians, in particular, he could fashion himself as the custodian of the Atabat.

Religious "Non-Conformists:"[602] Qajar Heretics to Ottoman Residents

In the first years of Nasir al-Din Shah's reign, the sultan's dominions became host land to a fresh influx of Iranians with grievances and ambitions to change their circumstances. The impetus was economic hardship as well as the (often connected)[603] suppression of religious and socio-political dissidence with which shah's reign began. Among the most severely punished "non-conformists"[604] were the Babi, who believed that the Twelver prophecy that the 'hidden imam' would reveal himself was fulfilled in 1844, in the person of the "young prophet of Shíráz, Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad,"[605] who claimed he was the *Bab* [gate] to the 'hidden imam.' After gaining quick momentum, the Babi were declared as heretics by religious and secular opponents, whose position and authority the Bab threatened.[606] Far from extinguishing the movement, however, the harsh reception it received by those with vested interests helped the movement grow "into open socioreligious messianic revolt." [607] The established *ulema*, in particular, resolved to "vanquish the Bab" in 1848 with an "inquisitory trial."[608] Over the course of the trial, the Bab went a step further than assuming *babiyat* [gateship], and claimed that he "was indeed the expected Imam of the Age, the Mahdi himself, whose return had been anticipated for a thousand years."[609] The *ulema* demanded his execution. Feeling he could neither challenge the *ulema* nor provoke public unrest, the Crown Prince Nasir

[601] See, for example, Kern, *Imperial Citizen*, and Meyer, "ImMigration, Return, and the Politics of Citizenship."
[602] This is Abbas Amanat's term, used to refer to those who resisted Iranian Shi'ization efforts.
[603] The Bab's trial followed the anti-Russian riots and demonstrations, for example.
[604] Abbas Amanat evaluates Babi persecution in Iran as one of the manifestations of the pre-existing trend of punishing non-conformists since the Safavids. See Amanat, "The Historical Roots of the Persecution of the Babi and Baha'is in Iran," 172. "Nonconformist" is also a term used to refer to Iranians in the Qajar era in Maryam B. Sanjabi, "Mardum-Gurīz: An Early Persian Translation of Moliere's Le Misanthrope," *IJMES* 30, no. 2 (1998), 252.
[605] Edward Granville Brown, *A Year Amongst the Persians*, 58.
[606] Keddie, *Modern Iran*, 45.
[607] Ibid.
[608] For a more detailed account of the trial, see, Amanat, *Pivot of the Universe*, 84f.
[609] Ibid.

al-Din sent physicians to attest to the Bab's insanity, the penalty was reduced to corporal punishment.[610] Execution was only postponed, however. Two years later, the Bab was hanged and placed in front of a firing squad.[611]

Death only added to the Bab's legend and contributed to his following. Even in the imagination and recollections of Great Power Orientalists, he was a slain prophet. The British Iranologist Edward Granville Browne narrated the martyr's execution,

> ...the Báb had disappeared from sight! It seemed, indeed, that his life had been preserved by a miracle, for, of the storm of bullets which had been aimed at him, not one had touched him; nay, instead of death they had brought him deliverance by cutting the ropes which bound him, so that he fell to the ground unhurt. For a moment even the executioners were overwhelmed with amazement, which rapidly gave place to alarm as they reflected what effect this marvelous deliverance was likely to have on the inconstant and impressionable multitude.[612]

After thus escaping death, the Bab was re-suspended and fired upon, again. This time, "the body of the young prophet of Shíráz was riddled with bullets."[613] No-doubt the the saga added to the aggrandizement of the Bab's cause and movement. It was clear that the Babi had resisted the regime's pacification efforts when on the "morning of 15 August 1852, a group of Babi militants, perhaps as many as six, attacked Nasir al-Din Shah just outside the Niyavaran summer residence...[it was] the first assassination attempt [on an Iranian monarch] by members of the public."[614] After the assassination attempt, "[t]he ensuing mass execution of suspect Babi conspirators set new standards for cruelty and sadistic frenzy...The 1852 incident was a turning point for it opened the door to sporadic but severe mass killings in the Iranian provinces and smaller communities in the following years and even decades."[615] The conditions they were subjected to in Qajar Iran pushed some of the Babi leaders and followers into the sultan's territories. They became heavily concentrated in the Ottoman borderlands, most specifically around Baghdad,[616] where the Bab received his religious education "with

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[610] Amanat, *Pivot of the Universe*, 88.
[611] Ibid, 89. See, also, Keddie, *Modern Iran*, 47, and Browne, *A Year Amongst the Persians*, 58.
[612] Browne, *A Year Amongst the Persians*, 63.
[613] Ibid.
[614] Amanat, *Pivot of the Universe*, 204–206. Keddie's suggestion that those behind the assassination attempt were "a small and desperate group" (Keddie, *Modern Iran*, 47) differs from Amanat's interpretation of the event, as he claims that "[i]t is wrong to believe, however, that this was a sporadic attempt by isolated members...it is likely that the leaders envisaged the death of Nasir al-Din as a prelude to a popular revolution and ultimately the triumph of the Babi order," see, Amanat, *Pivot of the Universe*, 207.
[615] Amanat, "The historical roots of the persecution of the Babis and Baha'is in Iran," 176-7.
[616] Keddie, *Modern Iran*, 48.

the most learned of the Shi'i ulama in the shrine cities of Najaf and Karbala in Ottoman Iraq."[617] The exilic Babi were by no means limited to this region. They were also in Istanbul and elsewhere in the Ottoman dominions.

The phenomenon and visibility of religiously motivated Iranian migration to the Ottoman dominions predated both the emergence of the Babi movement and the commencement of the Hamidian regime. There is little to suggest that among the Iranian Shi'i residents, the Babi constituted a significant minority in the Ottoman lands. Babi numbers were often inflated in the Iranian public's imagination, because they became convenient scapegoats, e.g. "whenever there are political problems and an oppositionary undertaking from the nation to divert attention, the statesmen clothe the affair with the garb of immorality and display it as a Babî [heresy]."[618] Due to the mystery surrounding them, the Ottoman state was not immune to being suspicious about the Babi, either, especially given their associations with some Young Turk organizations, "for all that the Babî with their sparse membership were only a *quantité négligeable* in the Ottoman Empire."[619] The Babi community that has been highlighted above was one among many other members of the Iranian diasporic community within the sultan's dominions, in addition to the long-time resident 'non-heretical'[620] *ulema* at the Atabat. Furthermore, hosting respected Shi'i clerics further presented Abdülhamid with the opportunity to employ them as his advocates to the Ottoman Shi'i constituency to achieve loyalty and to pacify Shi'i Ottoman resistance to national homogenization. Protecting the Iranian Shi'i *ulema* would have had the added benefit of presenting a counterweight to suspicions that the Hamidian state was persecuting Shi'i Ottomans.

The Iranian Shi'i *ulema* residents of the Ottoman state were politically and economically independent from the Qajar sovereign. Their subsistence was partially sourced from "semivoluntary religious taxes paid by most bazaaris to the ulama, which did not go to the government."[621] They were also outside of the shah's territorial jurisdiction. From beyond Nasir al-Din Shah's reach and in the service of the Ottoman

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[617] Ibid., 45.
[618] Yahya Dawlatābādī *Hayāt-i Yahyā* 1, 4th ed. (Tehran 1342 [1983]), 126 in Hanioğlu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, 255, n. 335.
[619] Hanioğlu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, 58.
[620] Since it is accepted that heterodoxy is determined by the hegemonic powers who set the parameters of a non-static, changing, orthodoxy, Shi'i clerics were leaders of a heterodox sect of Islam according to the Ottoman state, while, simultaneously, they were the preachers of orthodoxy, according to the Qajar state.
[621] Keddie, *Modern Iran*, 51.

sultan, they were able to sway public opinion about home state affairs, "[f]irst in the Tobacco Protest of 1891–92, 1902 onwards, and especially during the years of the Iranian Constitutional Revolution (1905–11), the mujtahids of the Atabat became actively involved in Iranian politics."[622] Beginning from the premise that "[i]n short, the Shiites were regarded as potentially disloyal,"[623] much of the historiographical focus on Iranians within the Ottoman dominions over the course of the Hamidian era has concentrated on the conflict between Shi'i and Sunni Islam, e.g. the role of the il-/legitimated religious clerics in the Atabat or on the Hamidian state's attempts to halt the spread of Shi'i Islam through Hanefization-Ottomanization efforts that targeted the 'heretical' borderland constituency, who are understood to be prone to being influenced by the resident Shi'i Iranians (with the intention to proselytize)—whether cleric or civilian. Such studies have inevitably resulted in assuming the motivations for local policies in the Atabat to the applicable to the overall Hamidian vision for the Ottoman state and constituency. It could be argued that while the state was certainly interested in ensuring a Hanefi-Sunni majority, that Iranian residents being Shi'i was a secondary concern for the State—especially since not all Shi'i Iranians' flight from Iranian territories strictly motivated by religious factors, neither were all Iranians in the Ottoman dominions Shi'i.

Other "Non-Conformists:" Cash-Crops, Famine, and Migration

Aside from persecuted 'non-conformists' that resisted the Qajar state's Shi'ization efforts and the Iranian *ulema* who were, in a way, perpetuating their state's claims to the Shi'i Holy Cities, others were pushed out of the 'well-protected domains' of the Qajar state for political and economic reasons. While the Qajar-Ottoman border zone had proven itself to be religio-politically fertile soil for the *ulema*, others sought destinations that would improve their economic well-being or were intellectual and political centers rather than religious centers, i.e. such individuals did not seek association or legitimation with the Atabat. These individuals may have been Shi'i, but some may have been so in the same way that Ahmed Rıza was Sunni (i.e. not very). Much like Abdülhamid's political opponents that had found the freedom to express their criticisms of home state policies through their press organs abroad, in Paris or Geneva, so, too, had

[622] Gökhan Çetinsaya, "The Caliph and the Mujtahids: Ottoman Policy towards the Shiite Community of Iraq in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Middle Eastern Studies* 41, no. 4 (Jul, 2005), 561.
[623] Ibid.

the shah's critics—London was the base of *Qanun* and Istanbul printed *Akhtar*. As much as the Ottoman and Qajar historical trajectories of reform and modernization seemed to experience similarities, with domestic and international impediments that resembled one another, so, too, did the deliberations of the Ottoman and Qajar constitutionalist opponents of absolutist rule and imperialist exploitation of their home lands. To escape social, political, and intellectual repression of the Hamidian state, much of the regime's Ottoman opponents found the liberties denied in their homelands in self-imposed exile.[624] While the sultan's opponents could find no liberty to express such sentiments in the Ottoman dominions, Nasir al-Din Shah's critics flourished in Istanbul.

A common source of discontent of Ottoman and Iranian critics of the nineteenth-century condition of their respective States was the level of Great Power encroachment that was salient in their respective homelands. Each was laboring under a series of treaties that imposed unfavorable conditions for state and constituency. Nasir al-Din Shah's polity's degree of autonomy had become, according to some interpretations, "*purely* formal, as Iran did not dare to take a step that might seriously displease Britain or Russia unless it had very strong support from the other country."[625] Since the turn of the century, socioreligious and political resistance in Iran was, to some extent, born from the disenfranchisement that external imperialist powers had inflicted on the constituency. Nasir al-Din's brief and inconsistent engagement with reform, e.g. especially those undertaken with the initiative of Mirza Taqi Khan Amir Kabir's Ottoman and Russian example-inspired "urgency to undertake sweeping changes encompassing the bureaucracy, military, finance, judiciary, and education,[626] were overshadowed by the Shah's inability to protect the State's economy and industry, the constituency's interests, and his inability to shield his image/prestige from the implications of his actions. Nasir al-Din Shah's intentions as the first Qajar monarch to travel abroad may have been good and well, for example; their pretext was to observe

[624] For secondary sources, see, for example, Hanioğlu, *Young Turks in Opposition* and Taglia, *Intellectuals and Reform in the Ottoman Empire*. For examples of primary source recollections, see, among others, Halil Halid, *Diary of a Turk* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1903), Zeyneb Hanum, *A Turkish Woman's European Impressions*, and the pages of the Young Turk exilic press (e.g. *Osmanli*).
[625] Keddie, *Modern Iran*, 34.
[626] Amanat, *Pivot of the Universe*, 104.

reforms to implement in Iran.[627] Alas, each trip seemed to be paired with him delivering the constituency less agency and ownership in their economic fates.

The Reuter (1872), Lottery (1889) and Tobacco (1891) concessions were forced to be withdrawn in response to broad sweeping discontent that ranged from popular resistance to palace revolts,[628] "or, as a Persian might say, patriotic forces in the country."[629] The Reuter Concession astonished observers. They were described by Lord Curzon, "himself a firm economic and political imperialist"[630] in the following way:

> When published to the world, it was found to contain the most complete and extraordinary surrender of the entire industrial resources of a kingdom into foreign hands that had probably ever been dreamed of. Exclusive of the clauses referring to railroads and tramways, which conferred an absolute monopoly of both those undertakings upon Baron de Reuter for the space of seventy years, the concession also handed over to him the exclusive working for the same period of all Persian mines, except those of gold, silver, and precious stones; the monopoly of the government forests, all uncultivated land being embraced under that designation; the exclusive construction of canals, *kanats*, and irrigation works of every description; the first refusal of a national bank, and of all future enterprises connected with the introduction of roads, telegraphs, mills, factories, workshops, and public works of every description; and a farm of the entire customs of the empire for a period of twenty-five years from March 1, 1874, upon payment to the Shah of a stipulated sum for the first five years, and of an additional sixty per cent. of the net revenue for the remaining twenty. With respect to the other profits, twenty per cent. of those accruing from all other sources, were reserved for the Persian Government. Such was the amazing document that fell like a bombshell upon Europe just before the Shah started upon his first foreign journey in 1873.[631]

Reuter was eventually compensated for the cancellation of the 1872 concession through being granted another one—for the Imperial Bank, in 1899.[632] Though its terms were not necessarily worse than the Reuter Concession, which "is indeed without historical parallel,"[633] the Tobacco Concession of 1891 incited popular resistance to a degree that was also 'without historical parallel,' and had the solidarity of Iranian participants, both the local and diasporic. Baghdad clerics and local opponents kept in touch with one of the instruments of modernity that Nasir al-Din was able to effectively introduce (through less-contested concessions); the telegraph had "dramatically increased the

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[627] Amanat, *Pivot of the Universe*, 55.
[628] Ibid., 408.
[629] George N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question* (London: Longmans, Green & co., 1892), 481.
[630] Nikki R. Keddie, "Iran under the Later Qājārs, 1848-1922," in *The Cambridge History of Iran* Vol. 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991), 187 and Keddie, *Modern Iran*, 54.
[631] Curzon, *Persia*, Vol. 1, 480f. The above impression of Curzon is partially referenced in Keddie, "Iran under the Later Qājārs, 1848-1922," 187 and Keddie, *Modern Iran*, 54.
[632] For the conditions of the 1899 concession to Reuter, see, Curzon, *Persia*, pp. 474-480.
[633] Keddie, "Iran under the Later Qājārs, 1848-1922," 187.

royal authority and presence throughout the kingdom, but also increased the foreign presence and allowed the shah's subjects to contact each other swiftly, both at home and abroad."[634] Early in its introduction the telegram had been a means of reporting grievances to the sovereign, i.e. during the Great Famine (1869/70-1871/72), "[i]n Isfahan, *sayyeds* and women clashed with police and besieged the telegraph office, demanding that a telegram of protest be sent to the Shah."[635] The Tobacco Protests demonstrated to Nasir al-Din Shah that the utility of improvements in communications and transportation in the Ottoman, Qajar, and every other modernizing state was simultaneously a tool for the State (to surveil the constituency), but had also evolved into a weapon that could be used for conspiring against the sovereign.

Where the Reuter, Lottery, and Tobacco concessions failed, others had been succeeding since the first communication and transportation concessions of 1863. Similar to their impact on the Ottoman constituency, concessions, by and large,[636] "exercised a negative, detrimental influence on the country's development, and at a great cost to the Iranian people."[637] Their negative impact compounded disadvantageous circumstances that domestic merchants and agricultural workers had already been subjected to due to capitulations. In both the Qajar and Ottoman states customs duties favored foreigners against native merchants. To gain an advantage, members of the natural-born population of either state was not immune to the temptation of taking up the nationality of one of the imperial powers that were exploiting their state, thus making up some of the members of the foreignized indigenous community that has been discussed in the Ottoman case. Those that took up foreign nationality and those who did not had to both operate within industries that were now responding to the global economy: their places within the marketplace were customized by external forces, often at their own expense, and in line with colonialist trends. Like their semi-/colonialized

[634] Amanat, *Pivot of the Universe*, 429.
[635] Shoko Okazaki, "The Great Persian Famine of 1870–71," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 49, no.1 (Feb. 1986), 183.
[636] There have been alternate arguments, e.g. that the economic subjugation of the Ottoman state and its industries being thrust into the global economy also contributed to its modernization. For some of the varied debates surrounding the impact of Ottoman economy's integration into the world market, see, Huri İslamoğlu-İnan ed., *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987), Reşat Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy: the Nineteenth Century* (Albany: State University New York, 1988), Şevket Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*, and Donald Quataert, *Social Disintegration and Popular Resistance in the Ottoman Empire, 1881-1908: Reactions to European Economic Penetration* (New York: New York UP, 1983).
[637] Hooshang Amirahmadi, *The Political Economy of Iran under the Qajars: Society, Politics, Economics and Foreign Relations, 1796-1926* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2012), 28.

counterparts in Asia and Africa, the designated function for the Ottoman and Iranians markets was as exporters of raw materials and importers of finished goods.

Fertile soil being tilled for export crops in the semi-colonialized Qajar and Ottoman territories (e.g. cotton and opium) had an adverse effect on the population when agriculture could not supply foodstuff demands. In addition to the ebbs and flows of the free market, the productivity and profitability of crops were susceptible to natural disasters—in both cases, outside forces manipulated domestic industries adapting to new demands. The Qajar silk industry had already been decimated by European-imported silkworm disease at the opportune moment that Britain had switched its reliance for cashmere on India's industry, for example.[638] Furthermore, the conversion of the land for the production of "export crops meant a decline in subsistence crops which, in times of export problems, could not be compensated for by foreign earnings."[639] Yet another adverse impact of the conversion was that the disenfranchised domestic constituency that was relying on external markets to dictate which crops to grow also began to incorporate the consumption of the same products into its culture.[640] When Lord Curzon's described the region surrounding the Heart Valley, particularly Kain and Birjand, he noted that "opium is enormously grown and consumed here, and that hundreds are said to die yearly from excessive indulgence."[641] In sparse times, the land allotted to such could not be "reconverted in time of lower demand or a bad harvest, and the conversion of land from food to opium, although usually profitable, contributed significantly to the terrible Iranian famine of 1869-72."[642] In fact, these were the circumstances under which his minister, Mirza Hosayn Khan, had (perhaps 'naively')[643] urged Nasir al-Din Shah to accept the Reuter Concession.

The Great Famine is an example of the great costs associated with Qajar Iran having become a semi-colonized state. The global economy, unequal terms and profit margins consistently favored Great Power states and concession hunters that dictated Qajar production priorities. The estimates for those who perished during the famine that

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[638] Keddie, *Modern Iran*, 52.
[639] Ibid., 26.
[640] Ibid., 53.
[641] Curzon, *Persia*, 200.
[642] Keddie, *Modern Iran*, 51.
[643] Keddie evaluates Miza Hosaysn as having been "sincere" in his "belief that Iran's independence and economic development would best be forwarded by the unification of all schemes under the aegis of a British subject...but naïve in terms of the realities of international political and economic life," see "Iran under the Later Qājārs, 1848-1922," 187.

was intricately linked to converting the productivity of the land from subsistence to cash crops ranged from one tenth of the total Qajar population,[644] with up to "almost a quarter of the population of the northern regions."[645] At some point in 1871, five hundred people were dying every day in Mashhad; places like Qom lost close to fifty percent of the population to the combined factors of famine, cholera, and, also, migration.[646] The State was bound to suffer from the particularized repercussions of this specific famine for decades (e.g. "only in and after 1884 did the revenue from direct taxes surpass in nominal terms the revenue of the pre-famine years").[647] The scale of the Great Famine marked it from others that continued to ravage the population, which experienced a decline in the nineteenth century. Severe famine and its accompanying diseases hit the Qajar state, at least decennially, at least until 1926; important among "the causes of the famine were the shift from subsistence to cash crop agriculture, intervention by the imperialist powers, black market practices by the ruling classes and their merchant allies, and extra-tax oppression and expropriation of the peasantry."[648] Such were some of the push factors that were driving Iranians into bordering states: Russia and the Ottoman dominions.

Ottomans and Qajars who were adversely affected (e.g. famine and poverty) by their industries serving external demands at internal costs searched for economic opportunities abroad. Akram F. Khater's studies on outward migration from the Ottoman state has articulated the incentives that promoted relocation for those who were economically and socially disadvantaged by the demands of the global economic market. The foreign initiative to achieve maximum capital out of Mount Lebanon's silk industry (which also decimated local agricultural production) by manipulating gender dynamics within local patriarchal communities contributed Syrians temporarily or permanently abandoning their homes, and, among other places, being pulled into the Americas.[649] Thus many of the same factors that were pushing native Ottomans beyond their borders, were also pushing Iranians beyond theirs; "as early as 1880 there were well over 100,000 Persian migrants in the Ottoman lands and 90,000 in Russia...and in

[644] Rudi Mathee, *The Pursuit of Pleasure: Drugs and Stimulants in Iranian History, 1500-1900* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2009).
[645] Kamran Matin, *Recasting Iranian Modernity: International Relations and Social Change* (London: Routledge, 2013). 68.
[646] Okazaki, "The Great Persian Famine," 184.
[647] Ann K. S. Lambton, "Land Tenure and Revenue Administration in the Nineteenth Century," in *The Cambridge History of Iran,* Vol. 7, 499.
[648] Amirahmadi, *The Political Economy of Iran under the Qajars*, 22.
[649] Khater, "'House' to 'Goddess of the House'."

1900 [the British Diplomat Sir Thomas Edward] Gordon put the number of Persian migrants abroad at up to 1 million."[650] The annual exodus rates would continue to increase monumentally, as, "in 1905, as many as 300,000 fled Iran to work in Russia."[651] Thus it stands that the social, political, and economic opportunities Iranians sought in the sultan's dominions, having been marginalized in their homelands, the sultan's also-marginalized citizens sought elsewhere.

The historiographical focus on the (assumed) Shi'i attribute of Iranians resident within the Ottoman dominions has, at times, simplified both the host state and the migrant—e.g. the assumption that the Ottoman state was aiming to prevent their integration into the constituency because of their adherence to (or ambition to spread) Shi'ism and the State's presumed disloyalty association has often come to be taken for granted. These assumptions are not wholly justified by the numbers of Iranians resident in the Ottoman territories; Islamic modernist-intellectual-ideologue-political agitator Jamal al-Din Assadabadi claimed in 1892 that "[a] fifth of the Persians have fled into Turkish or Russian territory."[652] *Some* of the escapes from the Qajar dominions could have been politically or religiously motivated. Afghani was, himself, was a political-religious exile. The sultan hosted him in Istanbul's Nişantaşı district (which later became his ornate place of confinement).[653] In fact, Afghani was up the street from where the previous chapter's English convert Fatemah Hahım was living, also rent-free. Like her, he also had the comfort of a stipend.[654] The circumstances of the Iranians he observed and wrote about, however, were very different. He wrote in the *Ziya' ul-Khafiqayn* [*The Light of the Two Hemispheres*],

> ...you may see them wandering through the streets and markets as porters, sweepers, scavengers and water-carriers, rejoicing in spite of their tattered garments, their somber countenances, and the meanness of their avocations, in their deliverance, and thanking God for sparing their lives.[655]

Both Afghani and E.G. Brown, in whose account of the Revolution of 1905 the above quote can be found, designated a political character to what the 'wanderers' escaped from in Iran, i.e. the 'the tyranny and exactions' of the governing classes, who were also blamed by Afghani for the inability of Islam to "prosper."[656] While Afghani's was

[650] Amirahmadi, *The Political Economy of Iran under the Qajars*, 23.
[651] Ibid., 64.
[652] Edward G. Browne, *The Persian Revolution of 1905-1909* (Cambridge: the UP, 1910), 27.
[653] BOA.İ.HUS.13/4 Zilhicce 1310 [19 June 1893].
[654] BOA.BEO.176.13184/8 Ramazan1310 [26 March 1893].
[655] Browne, *The Persian Revolution*, 27.
[656] Ibid.

exiled on account of his religious and political writings, it is hard to accept that a 'fifth of the Persians' living beyond the Qajar dominions suffered the same fact. Considering the fact that politics and religion are often elite preoccupations, and their practitioners do not number in the hundreds of thousands, with the conditions that have only been elaborated on in the above-section, (i.e. the famine, disease, and poverty that manifested in Iran from the early nineteenth century onward) it is safe to assume that most of the migrants' push was economic. In Istanbul, they found many opportunities—including those mentioned by Afghani. In the end, however, what mattered more to the Ottoman state was not so much their politics or religion, but their national identity. The host state sought the legal assimilation of Iranians, and expected their naturalization as Ottomans.

The 'Islambol' Pull

In light of the stress that Iranians have received in considerations of whether or not, or to which degree, the Hamidian regime was 'exclusivist,' it is noteworthy that the State did not count how many of them lived within its dominions, or in its capital city. To gauge what proportion of the city's inhabitants were Qajar nationals, it is necessary to correlate the imprecise Ottoman censuses with the numbers noted by contemporary Iranian observers of the Iranian community—who seem to have been among the few to have taken written notice of this component of Istanbulite society. The Iranian notable Mirza Hosayn Farahani, for example, visited Istanbul in August 1885 *en route* to Mecca. The written account of his pilgrimage, *Sayahatname-i Mirza Mohammad Hosayni Farahani*, was completed and presented to Nasir al-Din Shah in 1886. His travelogue suggests that Iranians took a prominent place among the city's immigrants, who constituted over half of the overall population.[657] Farahani estimated there to be "approximately sixteen thousand Iranian nationals in Islambol and its surroundings."[658] Given Farahani's familiarity with those at the embassy, which was demonstrated by his detailing of their personal talents and responsibilities,[659] one can assume the numbers he gives to be a fair reflection of official estimates of contemporary Qajar ambassadors who serviced resident and transit visas for their nationals. It has been noted above that there were already close to 100,000 Iranians in the Ottoman dominions in 1880.[660]

[657] Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914*, 104.
[658] Mirza Mohammad Hosayni Farahani, *Sayahatname-yi Mirza Mohammad Hosayni Farahani* (Tehran: Intisharat Firdawsi, 1362 [1983]), 129.
[659] Ibid., 128f.
[660] Amirahmadi, *The Political Economy of Iran under the Qajars*, 23.

Despite the fact that the calculation would not account for fluctuations between the two years for which there are no exact numbers per variable (e.g. Iranians in the Ottoman territories and Iranians in Istanbul), one can still compare the overall number of Iranians in the Ottoman territories in 1880 to the density of Iranians in the Ottoman capital in 1885, to surmise a rough idea about the volume of Iranians who had left Iran to seek opportunities in Istanbul. Accepting the inherently inexact nature of the calculation, it becomes possibility to conceive of Istanbul hosting 16 percent (plus margin of error) of the Ottoman resident Iranians, as of 1880, when Farahani visited the city, in 1885.

The percentage of Iranians in the Istanbulite population is easier to ascertain, since there were censuses for the year of Farahani's visit. Though the censuses do not have a reputation for exactness, either, the population of Istanbul officially numbered 873,575 in 1885.[661] According to the figures given by Farahani, Iranians would have made up two percent of the total population.[662.] Approximately seven years after Farahani's visit through the Ottoman capital, al-Afghani became one of those residents. When he observed the community, his estimate was that Iranians constituted about five percent of the city's population.[663] The discrepancy between the two estimates can be attributed to many factors, ranging from misestimation in one (or both) to a new push factor serving as a catalyst for renewed wave of migration (e.g. Afghani's relocation followed the Tobacco Concession protests), to the latter estimate including naturalized Ottomans—this last possibility is a bit of a stretch, given that it is unlikely that such figures would have been available to al-Afghani. In light of the assumptions about the Hamidian reception of Iranians, the possibility that both Farahani and al-Afghani provided accurate numbers for Iranian nationals has the power to suggest quite a remarkable conclusion.

The population of Istanbul was recorded to be 1,030,234 in 1894.[664] In the absence of reliable statistics for 1892 one could generously assume that the city's population had

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[661] Shaw*, The Population of Istanbul in the Nineteenth Century*, 276.

[662]This is the same percentage as London's Jewish population according to the demographic figures from the 2001, "2001 Census Profile: The Jewish Population of London," http://legacy.london.gov.uk/gla/publications/factsandfigures/dmag-briefing-2006-27.pdf. (4 February 2015).

[663] Muhammad al-Makhzūmī, *Khātirāt Jamāl ad-Dīn al-Afghānī* (Beirut, 1931), p.111 in Keddie, *An Islamic Response to Imperialism*, 34.
This is half a percentage greater than Berlin's Turkish population in 2011, "StatistischerBericht," https://www.statistik-berlin-brandenburg.de/Publikationen/Stat_Berichte/2012/SB_A01-05-00_2011h02_BE.pdf. (5 February 2015).

[664] Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914,* 153.

already reached its 1894 figures in the year of Afghani's arrival. Averaging in this manner has the flaw of assuming the city was more populated than it actually was in 1892 while simultaneously denying Iranians within it the benefit of a corresponding population increase beyond the 1892 figures, thus it actually yields a deflated number for resident Iranians. If, for the sake of argument, one accepted such margins of error and additionally assumed the accuracy of Farahani and Afghani's numbers, the number of Iranians in Istanbul still evidences substantial growth.[665] Specifically, there is a three percent surge between Farahani's visit in 1885 and the commencement of Afghani's residence in the city in 1892. Since, in the former year, "almost 60 percent of the city's residents had been born elsewhere, and ten years later the proportion of non-natives was even greater,"[666] it is cogent that the city's Iranian population should also grow—[667] especially given the fact that there were presumed to be a million members of the Iranian diaspora at the turn of the twentieth century. [668] The city's population was witnessing a rapid increase, but the two hundred and fifty percent rate increase within this one specific nationalized community would have outpaced the city's growth, by far. Whatever the push factors that accounted for the boost of Iranian residents in Istanbul was, the remarkable rise in their numbers suggests that the understanding of the Hamidian regime's reception of them needs nuance.

Whether Istanbul's resident Iranians constituted two percent or five, they constituted a significant and visible component of Istanbul's urban fabric—despite being rendered *in*visible in most Great Power and Ottoman accounts of Istanbul at the turn of the century. While push factors that prompt the departure of individuals from the sending state may be discerned with a certain degree of confidence, in general, the choice of destination is seldom explicit in the historical record and harder to discern. When looking at the nineteenth century Iranian and the Ottoman worlds with a comparative lens, the parallel experiences and existences that stemmed from the two having shared a very fluid border for centuries do emerge as pull factors. These borders were only nationalized in the nineteenth century with the aforementioned Nationality Laws—those who were identified as foreigners according to the Ottoman Law of 1869 included Iranians. Furthermore, urban population diversity, language, religion, socio-political and ideological currents, the debates surrounding tradition and modernity, the

[665] Akcasu, "Migrants to Citizens," 399.
[666] Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914,* 104.
[667] Akcasu, "Migrants to Citizens," 399.
[668] Amirahmadi, *The Political Economy of Iran under the Qajars*, 23.

role of Islam in rational reform, and foreign relationships and penetration are just a few examples of the familiarities that existed between the nineteenth-century realities of the two polities, that would have created enough common points of reference between the respective constituencies, to allow a relatively smooth transition and assimilation of a Qajar national into Istanbulite society. They were pushed and pulled by the same currents—and despite their different impacts on immigrant and natural-born citizen—they were considerations that influenced relocating to familiar-unfamiliar localities.

Ottoman Istanbul was a multi-ethnic, multi-religious, polyglot, and "convivial"[669] metropolis. There were elements within state and local traditions, however, that favored Iranian culture over others, making the city and its residents quite accommodating for Iranians. These elements included a conscious awareness of the shared features of the two societies' contemporary circumstances, history, heritage, and culture—contacts between Turkic and Persian speakers extend to pre-Islamic times.[670] The Turco-Iranian zone shared populations, i.e. the Qajar ruling apparatus was itself of Turkic origin, and "like virtually every dynasty that ruled Persia since the 11th century ... [it] came to power with the backing of Turkic tribal forces."[671] In fact their respective constituencies sometimes took advantage of their easy assimilation each side of the political border, to the dismay of both states, John George Taylor, archeologist, agent of the British East India Company, and British Consul in the Ottoman frontier city of Diyarbakır, had observed the fluidity of some regional identities in the following manner just prior to the passing of the Nationality Law,

> This mixed nationality of one family and the still unsettled state of the frontier cause interminable disputes between the governments of Persia and Turkey. The Kurds being equally at home in one country as in the other, cross the border whenever they feel inclined or suits their purpose, either for business or to evade proper punishment due to crimes committed in one or the other country. All attempts to levy taxes, enforce conscription, and arrest offenders are thwarted by hasty migration to Persia or Turkey, as the case may be.[672]

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[669] One of the recent debates that surround the historical conceptualization of Istanbul concerns whether or not it can be considered to be a cosmopolitan city. Ulrike Freitag has been one of the forerunners in challenging the idea of Istanbul being a cosmopolitan city. Freitag persuasively argues that "convivial" is a more suitable alternative to "cosmopolitan." See Ulrike Freitag, "'Cosmopolitanism' and 'Conviviality'? Some conceptual considerations concerning the late Ottoman Empire," *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 17, no. 4 (Aug. 2014): 375-391.

[670] John Perry, "The Historical Role of Turkish in Relation to Persian of Iran," *Iran & the Caucasus* 5 (2001), 193.

[671] Nikki R. Keddie, "The Iranian Power Structure and Social Change 1800-1969: An Overview." *IJMES* 2, no.1 (Jan., 1971), 4.

[672] Curzon, *Persia and the Persian* Question, 555.

Despite the intentions of the Nationality Law, and the extension of the subsequent extension of foreign status to Iranians, to curb such tendencies, Lord Curzon noted that "hasty migration"[673] for the purposes of evading State-imposed citizen obligations were still persisting when he wrote his account of *Persia and The Persian Question*, in 1892—[674]that whether they were Shi'i or Sunni would have been a secondary concern for the State becomes evident with the detail that these non-sedentary 'non-conformists' resisters to national homogenization and administrative centralization were both.

The similarities that existed in the Turco-Iranian border zone thinned out along the path towards the respective capitals of each state. Thus, the fluidity that was granted to the Kurds, for example, would not have been possible to the same extent in urban centers. Nevertheless, there existed an un-rejected shared heritage of social, military, political, linguistic and literary traditions that were a part of the each center's identity, due to centuries of contact. The Turkic zone was the greater beneficiary of the literary. Persian texts dating all the way back to the fourteenth century emergence of the Ottoman state had become a part of the latter's high-literary tradition through oral and written transmission. The works that had become a part of the Ottoman tradition that were Persian in origin included works on "theology, literary works, legends of saints, medical handbooks, guidebooks for hunting, books on the history of Islam and other didactic manuals…There was hardly an important Persian text that was not translated into Turkish."[675] The influence becomes even more evident with later attempts to translate these texts into Ottoman, in order to achieve "emancipation from Persian literary dominance."[676] Translation did eliminate the persistence of the use of Persian in every level of Ottoman rhetoric ranging from the grandiloquent *Divani* poetry to daily vocabulary and colloquialisms. Without the Persian influence that became one of its defining traits, the Ottoman cultural intertext and civilizational discourse would have also ceased to be Ottoman.

Linguistic influence in the Turco-Iranian zone was not a phenomenon that was unidirectional; there was much cross-fertilization. There existed in Istanbul some degree of familiarity and communicational access that was bidirectional between (at least) the

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[673] Curzon, *Persia and the Persian* Question, 555.
[674] Ibid.
[675] Anja Pistor-Hatam, "The Art of Translating Persian Texts from the Seljuks to the Ottomans," in *Essays on Ottoman Civilization. Proceedings of the XIIth Congres of the Comité International d'Etudes Pré-Ottomanes et Ottomanes, Praha 1996, Archív orientální Supplementa VIII* (Praha: Oriental Institute, 1998), 307.
[676] Ibid., 314.

established state-educated resident and the newly arrived Iranian who, depending on where he was from in Iran, was, in turn, either fluent in Turkish (e.g. Azeri) or had some knowledge of it. The Iranian territories had a large, indigenous, Turkic-speaking population. This was so pervasive in certain regions that "[f]oreign visitors ... noted that spoken Turkish was so common among all classes in Iran as to be the *lingua franca*."[677] It follows that many of those natural-born Iranians who arrived in the Ottoman dominions could be fluent in the Ottoman state's official language to a greater degree than some natural-born Ottomans. If their destination was Istanbul, they had the additional benefit of being greeted by members of the Ottoman constituency who had been state-school educated and had therefore learned Persian as part of their curriculum (taught, most often, by Iranian expatriates). Therefore, Iranian exiles and expatriates coming to Istanbul not only had prior linguistic exposure to their hostland; many Istanbul residents also had linguistic exposure to their Iranian homeland. The Hamidian state was especially active in re-introducing Persian into the curriculum of secondary schools. Language is perhaps the most important element of culture for an immigrant. It determines the duration of one's incubation in a compatriot-expatriate network before seeking membership in others. Language is a tool without which the individual cannot wholly integrate into the receiving state.

A desire to remain in the 'Adobe of Islam' may have been one of the factors that contributed to Iranians seeking work in the Ottoman dominions over other destinations. That having been said, that religion may not have been the primary mover of Iranian exiles and expatriates becomes evident when one considers the numbers of those who ended up in Russia. The argument that Iran's labor force was drained because of the outward migration (in addition to famine and disease) is persuasive.[678] Since Tabriz, as a single point of departure, supplied 26,844 of Qajar Iran's labor force to Russia in 1891—figures kept climbing until they reached a dramatic peak in 1905, when "as many as 300,000 fled Iran to work in Russia."[679] Hooshang Amirahmadi's study on *The Political Economy of Iran* reveals the rates and motives of Iranians who sought work in neighboring countries, but more closely observes the figures of those who ended up in Russia—probably due to the availability of statistics. Where Amirahmadi gives figures that allow for a meaningful comparison between migration to the Ottoman versus

[677] Perry, "The Historical Role of Turkish in Relation to Persian of Iran," 194.
[678] Amirahmadi, *The Political Economy of Iran.*
[679] Ibid., 64.

Russian domains, those driven to the Ottoman lands are greater. Thus, the prestige of the Ottoman lands within the community of believers could have been another factor that pulled Iranian exiles and expatriates into the sultan's dominions. For the Shi'i Iranian clergy, in particular, their relocation to the Atabat emboldened the legitimacy of their religio-political discourse directed at their homeland audience and its national sovereign.

Image III.I

There was certainly a difference in the motivations of those who migrated to the shrine cities of Iraq and others who found new domiciles in Ottoman Istanbul. While the latter's motivation might have been intellectual, political, or economically oriented, it is still noteworthy that among all of the aforementioned names of Istanbul, the Iranian exilic community was the only one that consistently used 'Islambol.' Despite the variations in push and pull factors, the emphasis for the city carried a religious value. 'Islambol' was the city Farahani had visited on his way pilgrimage. Neither did he fail to remark on the city's Muslim inhabitants' religiosity, or lack thereof (e.g. he criticized their habit of sharing bathhouses with non-Muslims, because it entailed perspiring in the same space).[680] Farahani's judgment was simultaneously an expression his disapproval of the Ottoman's corrupting what he considered to be shared core values—Farahani felt entitled to express criticism of Ottoman practices, because it was familiar and there existed common reference point. In similar vein, the Iranian community's exilic organ, *Akhtar*, Persianized most of its contents, suggesting a sense of asserted belonging. The newspaper was printed out of 'Islambol Han' in '*Valide Dar'* (i.e. 'Validekapısı,' in Turkish). In fact, 'Dersaadet' was only used to identify the parameters of the city and its adjoining districts for the purposes of price and circulation, which was more of an expression of the Ottoman state's postal preferences—e.g. as of October 1893, the cost of the paper was four Mecidiye coins within 'Dersaadet,' and five elsewhere within the

[680] Farahani, *Sayahatname*, 104f.

host state.[681] The newspaper that was sold and circulated in 'Dersaadet' referred to the city as 'Islambol' elsewhere, however, e.g. an accident report describing Yüksek Kaldırım as "one of the neighborhoods of Islambol."[682] In other words, the Iranian exilic community did not hesitate to claim partial ownership of their host city. The manner in which they interacted with names and customs was one of the ways in which they demonstrated their sentiment of multiple belongings.

Political Activism and Long-Distance Nationalism

The most high-profile niche within the Iranian exilic and expatriate community of Hamidian Istanbul was the political exile, as enemies of the Shah often chose the Ottoman capital as a destination to provide them respite from persecution in the Shah's lands. The city also provided them a platform to express their criticisms and grievances through newspapers like *Akhtar*. The avenues of exclusion of political exiles from Iranian society resemble one another. Much like their Ottoman counterparts, they were often driven beyond the borders of their home states as a consequence of one of the prominent features of their respective authoritarian governments: the denial of basic liberties and the repression of oppositional currents. The modes of the political exile's assimilation into Istanbulite society, on the other hand, markedly differed. This is made evident by the experiences of individuals like al-Afghani on one extreme and Mirza Habib Esfanani 'Dastaan' on the other.

Al-Afghani can be described as an anti-imperialist political activist.[683] Though he has been popularly eulogized as one of the prominent Islamic modernists and a pan-Islamist, he has alternatively been memorialized as the "well-known agitator, whose treasonable teachings caused his exile from Persia in 1891."[684] After his departure from Iran, al-Afghani spent a brief time in London, where was continuing his cause with

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[681] See, for example, *Akhtar*/*L'Akhter* 20, No: 5 (6 Rabi`ath-Thani 1311), [17 October 1893], 209.
[682] *Akhtar*/*L'Akhter* 20, No: 5 (6 Rabi`ath-Thani 1311), 214.
[683] For a detailed account on al-Afghani's career of activism, see Keddie, *An Islamic Response to Imperialism*, Homa Pakdaman, *Djamal-Ed-Din Assad Abadi dit Afghani* (Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1969). For deliberations and references on the reasons and impacts his time in Istanbul, see, Alâeddin Yalçınkaya, *Cemâleddin Efgânî ve Türk Siyasî Hayâtı Üzerindeki Etkileri* (İstanbul: Osmanlı Yayınevleri, 1991). He is also mentioned, if briefly, in the following primary sources: Sultan Abdülhamid, *Siyasî Hatıralarım* (Istanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1984), Blunt, *My Diaries: Being a Personal Narrative of Events, 1888-1914*, Tahsin Paşa, *Tahsin Paşa'nın Yıldız Hatıraları*.
[684] TNA. F.O. 60/595, "Djemal-ed-Din Dead," *Reuters Cablegram.*

"propaganda and attacks on the Iranian government as an oppressive autocracy."[685] Soon after, he was in Istanbul after receiving an invitation from Abdülhamid, whom he had written to, essentially offering the caliph propaganda aid in Afghanistan.[686] The sultan had refused a similar offer by al-Afghani in 1885, for a similar undertaking, in India. While in Istanbul, al-Afghani was considered a reputable figure and treated as a "permanent guest" [*daimi misafir*].[687] As mentioned in the previous section, along with a stipend, al-Afghani was given a home—which the Qajar government had banned its nationals from visiting.[688]

Afghani eventually fell out of favor with Abdülhamid. Whether because of his relationship with Wilfrid Blunt, who was actively promoting an Arab caliphate, or for something else altogether (e.g. contacts with the sultan's other opponents, like Young Turks), [689] al-Afghani was put under watch within a couple of years of his arrival. Subsequently, he was "like a caged lion he growled to foreigners against his enforced confinement."[690] His circumstances had gotten even more severe when Mirza Reza Kermani who was "an emissary of the Sheikh Jemaleddin,"[691] left the latter's Istanbul home in 1896, and proceeded to Iran, where he assassinated Naser al-Din Shah on 1 May. Due to the widely accepted assumption that al-Afghani was the one to suggest to Kermani the thought of killing Nasir al-Din Shah,[692] almost immediately, the Qajar state began sending extradition orders for him,[693] the demands of which were refused by their Ottomans counterpart—despite it having been clearly established (to all)[694] that al-Afghani was neither Afghan, nor British Indian, but an Iranian subject. This decision

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[685] Keddie, *An Islamic Response*, 29.
[686] TNA. F.O. 78/4452, "Hardinge to Rosebery," Secret, Ramleh, Sep. 3, 1892, in Jacob M. Landau, "Al-Alfghani's Pan-Islamic Project," *Islamic Culture*, XXVI , no. 3 (July 1952), and Keddie, "Pan-Islamic Appeal," 66.
[687] Tahsin Paşa*, Tahsin Paşa'nın Yıldız Hatıraları,* 40.
[688] Lettre de Mirzâ Agâ Khân Kermâni à Malkom Khân, in archives Malkom Khân, *op. cit*., folios 166-167 in Pakdaman, *Dit Afghani*, 172.
[689] Hanioğlu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, 57.
[690] Keddie, *An Islamic Response to Imperialism*, 32.
[691] TNA.F.O. 60/594, "Sir Currie," Telegram (4 May 1896).
[692] Keddie, *Modern Iran*, 63. Mirza Reza Kermani apparently screamed something to the effect that it was for (the love of) Jamal al-Din that he had committed the crime, which also happened to transpire at the same shrine from which al-Afghani was driven out of Iran five years earlier, see Keskioğlu, "Cemâleddin Efgâni," 101, and «The Times» 7 Mai 1896, et «Nasser-ed-din Shâh va Babilar » in Pakdaman, *Dit Afghani*, 181.
[693] E.g. BOA.Y.MTV.142.51/22 Zilhicce1313 [4 June 1896].
[694] Davison points out that since Afghani was mentioned in the *Sicill-i Osmani* as "Iranian by Origin" there should be little doubt that he was known as such in Ottoman circles. See Davidson, *Nineteenth Century Ottoman Diplomacy and Reforms* (Istanbul: İsis Press, 1999), 143f.

may even have bordered on threatening diplomatic relations between the two states.[695] The foreign press speculated on possible reasons:

> With regard to the nationality of the Sheikh Djemal ad-din, who was believed to be a British Indian subject, it has now been established that the Sheikh is a Persian subject. Nevertheless, it appears certain that the Porte will refuse the demand of the Persian Government for his extradition. Djemal ed-din has intimate relations with Yildiz Kiosk, whence he receives a monthly allowance of seventy-five pounds, and has long worked to bring about the union of Islam, an idea which is supported at the Palace. For this reason it is feared by the Porte that were he handed over to Persia he might make revelations disagreeable to the Palace.[696]

Abdülhamid never did extradite al-Afghani; the requests came to an end with the Qajar government receiving a dispatch on 31 December 1896 informing the State of al-Afghani's imminent death from cancer,[697] which transpired on 9 March 1897. The fact that Abdülhamid did not extradite him did not mean that he had regained favor after possibly being "accused of plotting against the sultan."[698] After five years of residence in Istanbul, al-Afghani died in the city he had arrived to with great ambition. He was out of favor, under surveillance, and confined to house arrest.

Not all opponents of the Qajar state suffered the same fate in the sultan's dominions as al-Afghani. Mirza Habib Esfahani had also came to Istanbul upon forced-exile, in 1866.[699] Due to the more subtle nature of his political activism, however, he was able to navigate the city and its hierarchies in much more liberty than Afghani. Soon after his arrival, Esfahani began teaching Persian grammar and literature at the *Mekteb-i Sultani,*[700] and died in the Ottoman territories in 1898.[701] He also taught at the Persian school after its establishment in 1884; "many *Akhtar* journalists, some of them members of the Turkish academy, taught there, so that the school came to enjoy a very high standard."[702] During his time in Istanbul, Esfahani was clearly welcomed by various Istanbulite circles. His employment in both the State's educational and its administration (i.e. the Ministry of Education) demonstrates the extent of his integration

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[695] Télégramme chiffré de Alâ-el-Molk à Amin-es-Soltân in Pakdaman, *Dit Afghani*, 188.
[696] "Constantinople, May 7," *London Daily News* (9 May 1896).
[697] Lettre n. 11 d'Alâ-el Molk à Amin-es-Soltân in Pakdaman, *Dit Afghani*, 188.
[698] Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam*, 203.
[699] Mehdi Bambad, "Habib," in *Tarikh-i Rejal-i Iran,* Vol.1 (Tehran: 1347 [1968]), 313. I would like to thank Maziar Behrooz for sharing this biographical entry with me.
[700] Bambad, "Habib," 313-314.
[701] There are various dates for Esfahani's death, ranging from 1893/4 to 1897/8, the one used here is the one given by Sanjabi, "Mardum-Gurīz: An Early Persian Translation of Moliere's Le Misanthrope," 252.
[702] Peter Chelkowski, "Edward G. Browne's Turkish Connexion," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 49, no. 1 (1986), 29.

among the Ottoman constituency. Over the course of his life in Istanbul, Esfahani maintained close contact and collaboration with the Iranian expatriate community, being especially close to two Iranian exiles who had arrived in Istanbul, together, in 1886/8: Shaykh Ahmad Ruhi and Mirza Aqa Khan Kermani, who were Babis, possibly turned atheists—[703] a not uncommon designation affixed to political opponents of the Qajar state who were members of the modernist intellectual wing of the Iranian exilic community of Istanbul, including Esfahani.[704] Kermani stayed with Esfahani for the first two years of his time in Istanbul.[705] While Abdülhamid did not comply with the extradition order for al-Afghani, he did for Kermani and Ruhi. Both were returned to Iran in 1896, where they were hanged, upon the request of the Qajar government for their (alleged) role in the assassination of Nasir al-Din Shah.[706]

Esfanahi's extra-curricular causes for Iran found ample expression over the course of his life in Istanbul. His expression of his discontent against the Qajar government was well suited to his passions as a translator and grammarian. Thus he was a linguistic who expressed his grievances through the employment of metaphors he embedded in translations. Considering the many sources of revenue that Esfahani exploited, it can be assumed that his Istanbul life was one of comfort. Translation was an industry that was compensated well under Abdülhamid's patronage than Nasir al-Din's. Perhaps with the partial intention to shame Nasir al-Din Shah, the Iranian translators complained, "the Ottoman Sultan spends 3,000 liras equal to 90,000 tūmāns, every year, on a single European newspaper, the Shāh is reluctant to pay 200 tūmāns."[707] Esfahani has been assumed to be the anonymous (co-)[708] translator Molière's *Le misanthrope* (*Guzārish-i mardum gurīz*). His most famous translation, however, remains James Morier's *The*

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[703] Keddie, *Modern Iran*, 177.

[704] Esfahani's exile followed being associated with the Masonic Lodge-resembling *Faramush-khanih* [House of Oblivion] that was established by his friend Mirza Malkom Khan, Esfahani "was accused specifically of being an atheist (*dahrī*)," Sanjabi, "Mardum-Gurīz: An Early Persian Translation of Moliere's Le Misanthrope," 252.

[705] Iraj Parsinejad, *A History of Literary Criticism in Iran (1866-1951), Literary Criticism in the Works of Enlightened Thinkers of Iran: Akhundzade, Kermani, Malkom, Talebof, Maraghe'i, Kasvari and Hedeyat* (Maryland: Ibex, 2003), 69, 87.

[706] Farzin Vahdat, *God and Juggernaut: Iran's Intellectual Encounter with Modernity* (New York: Syracuse UP, 2002), 37.

[707] I'timāal-Saltana, Rūznāma-yi khātirāt, in Iraj Afshar, 1374/1995, Fihrist-i maqālāt-i fārsī, Tehran, p.20, in Afshar, "Book Translations as Cultural Activity in Iran, 1808–1896," 289.

[708] Sanjabi does not believe that Esfahani could have had enough of a command of the French language at the time of Moliere's translation to have achieved it alone and thus puts forth the argument that it was a collaborative effort (specifically, with Malkom Khan), Sanjabi, "Mardum-Gurīz: An Early Persian Translation of Moliere's Le Misanthrope," 255.

Adventures of Hajji Baba of Esfahan. Both were translated after Esfahani's departure from Iran, and express criticism of the Qajar state. Despite being translated in the 1880s, the latter was only published in 1906, a critical juncture when "[t]he novels portrait of a decadent state and decaying nation fit perfectly into parts of the Constitutionalist rhetoric that adopted and promoted such an image in order to justify its claims for reform."[709] Indeed, presumably to achieve this desired effect, Esfahani had added pages of material that did not exist in the original text.[710] Homeland Iranians were not Esfahani's only intended audience, however. That he fact that he renamed Molière's *Le misanthrope* characters with ones "familiar in the Ottoman Empire—Luqmān Baik, Na'īm Baik, Shāh Budāq, Nāsih"[711] reveals that he also had Ottoman readers in mind.

Esfahani contributed to the linguae-political developments of Iran *in absentia*. At a historical moment when language was becoming synonymous with nation, both the Iranian and Ottoman literary worlds witnessed efforts to render the written word more simple and accessible to the masses. Esfahani was very much a part of this movement. He sought to make Persian more comprehensible and 'pure.' For contemporary Iranians, purity meant a "return to the imagery and language of Anvari, Manuchihri, Farrukhi, Firdawsi, Sa'di, and Hafiz."[712] Esfahani's works on the Persian language and its grammar are *Dastūr-i sukhan,* and *Dabistān-i Pārsī*, both were published in Istanbul, in 1872 and 1890, respectively. The Ottoman state printed a state education-oriented version of Esfahani's Persian grammar book, under the name *Rehnuma-yı Farisi*, with the "order to be distributed and utilized in the State's high schools."[713] Simultaneously, Esfahani was an active contributor to the education of his new Ottoman homeland's constituency *and* one of the shapers of his former homeland's linguistic and political culture, as "his writings on grammar are historically important for he tries to formulate the rules of Persian language without being constrained by the traditional categories of Arabic grammar... a disassociation from Arab-Islamic culture and identity."[714] Indeed,

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[709] Naghmeh Sohrabi, "Looking behind Hajj Baba of Ispahan: The case of Mirza Abdul Hasan Khan Ilchi Shirazi," in Amy Singer, Cristoph K. Neumann, and Selçuk Akşin Somel eds., *Untold Histories of the Middle East: Recovering voices from the 19th and 20th centuries* (London: Routledge, 2011), 166.
[710] Keddie, *Modern Iran*, 66.
[711] Afshar, "Book Translations as Cultural Activity in Iran, 1808–1896," 285.
[712] Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi, "Refashioning Iran: Language and Culture During the Constitutional Revolution," *Iranian Studies* 23, no. 1/4 (1990), 87.
[713] Habib Efendi, *Rehnuma-yı Farisi* (Dersaadet: Matbaa-ı Osmaniye, 1309 [1891/92]).
[714] Tavakoli-Targhi, "Refashioning Iran: Language and Culture During the Constitutional Revolution," 92-93.

many Ottomans were laboring to free their literary tradition from the very same 'categories of grammar.' A conversation that began in Istanbul in the 1860s also had members of the Turco-Iranian intellectual zone discussing releasing their languages from such 'constraints' by abandoning the Arabic script altogether.[715] Istanbul allowed domestic and exilic opponents and proponents of tradition to debate amongst one another the material and immaterial futures of their past and present homelands.

Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi has argued that nineteenth-century Iranian intellectuals who took an active role in the 'Invention of [Persian] Tradition' through hearkening back to a pre-Islamic Iran, in turn, constructed the culture, language, and history that would later be accepted as the unequivocal collective memory of modern Iran.[716] The seeds of the fruit of Iran's collective movement were sown with a literary movement that sought to canonize works like the *Šhāhnāmeh*. The aim was to write in a 'pure Persian' cleansed of Arabic *fārsī-yi basīt* or *pārsīnigārī*. The linguistic nationalism of the century gave fruit to notions of a glorious Iranian past, which had come to be corrupted by Arab-Islamic civilization. The same individuals who idealized an Iranian past were those who fought for a constitution whilst rejecting the traditional applications of the principles of Islam—e.g. segregation in a hierarchical society that determined rank according to religion. Esfahani was among those individuals who participated in both Qajar linguistic and the social battles, from his exile in Hamidian Istanbul. As early as 1885, he was "enjoying a comfortable life of teaching and scholarship and was known by most notables in the Ottoman capital as an accomplished poet and scholar, and as an ardent Persian patriot."[717] A member of the Ottoman intelligentsia, Esfahani was thus also privileged with the freedom to express dual allegiances through his active membership in the transnational literary circle that would write the language of the 1906 Constitutional Revolution.[718]

It can be surmised that the Istanbul networks that Afghani and Esfahani had access to—in addition to the Iranian exilic community—were ones that allowed for their swift mobility due to their having come from privileged positions Iranian society, despite their very different fates. Iranian mobility in the politico-intellectual circles of Hamidian

[715] Hamid Algar, "Malkum Khan, Akhundzada and the Proposed Reform of the Arabic Alphabet," *Middle Eastern Studies* 5, no. 2 (May 1969): 116-130.
[716] Tavakoli-Targhi, "Refashioning Iran," 77-101.
[717] See Sanjabi, "Mardum-Gurīz: An Early Persian Translation of Moliere's Le Misanthrope," 267.
[718] Ibid.

Istanbul was not only accessible to social elites who had received a classical education in Iran and had already made a reputation for themselves as 'intellectuals with a social function,' before crossing the Ottoman border. There were others who came to exercise their function as intellectuals on the same platforms, but had come from more humble origins. Husayn Danish is an example, as father was a little-educated Iranian merchant from Esfahan who can be assumed to have been an economic migrant.[719] Danish was born in Istanbul and grew up to have full access to positions within the Iranian niche of the Ottoman capital and took the common avenues for the literate Iranian intellectual to employment. He found employment in Iranian schools and in the exilic press. Additionally, like many with the same immigrant-generational background who had the benefit of more fluid movement in and amongst the expatriate and native realms, his self-identity was more prone to negotiation in determining where he fit. So, he actually launched his career as a journalist with contributions to the Ottoman press (such as *İkdam* and *Servet-i Fünun*) and was at one point private tutor to Ottoman princes and "chief government translator."[720] Later, he became an employee of the Ottoman Public Debt Administration (for 24 years).[721]

Danish's activities in the Ottoman press, schools, and administration in fact overshadow his involvement in their Iranian counterparts.[722] He was a long-distance, linguistic, nationalist, similar to Esfahani, rather than a political activist like Afghani. He promoted Iran and demonstrated his sentimental attachments to the land of his heritage through his promotion of its literary arts, not only over the course of the Hamidian Regime, but also during the Second Constitutional Era and through the early Republic. Ultimately, however, he chose his association with his birth land as his primary legal-national identification while *maintaining* his designated and reflexive Iranian identity. Afghani, Esfahani, and Danish were members of Istanbul's Iranian expatriate community who either arrived as or became self-made social, political, and intellectual elites. They were not alone in fitting this designation, as there were a slew of others who shared these variables. Neither was their place within Istanbulite society restricted to their ethno-linguistic niche.

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[719] John Gurney, "E.G. Browne and the Iranian Community in Istanbul," in *Les Iraniens D'Istanbul*, 154.
[720] Ibid.
[721] Chelkowski, "Edward G. Browne's Turkish Connexion," 29–30.
[722] John Gurney, "E.G. Browne and the Iranian Community in Istanbul," 168.

What emerges in from the lives and interactions of intellectually and politically driven Iranians in Hamidian Istanbul is, first, that the circle had many contact points. Just from what has been mentioned in this section, for example, it emerges that Danish's teachers at the *Dabistan-i Iraniyan* were Mirza Aqa Khan Kermani, Habib Esfahani, and Riza Quli Aqa Khurasani.[723] The last among them was a friend of al-Afghani,[724] who had instigated the assassination of Nasir al-Din Shah by Mirza Reza Kermani.[725] This was a crime that Shaykh Ahmad Ruhi and Mirza Aqa Khan Kermani (the first mentioned among Danish's teachers) had been extradited and had suffered the penalty of death for.[726] Kermani, who had upon his arrival in Istanbul, lived in Esfahani's home for two years.[727] Esfahani, had left Iran due to his associations with former Ottoman ambassador—and, part-time Ottoman national—Mirza Malkom Khan's 'House of Oblivion.'[728] Malkom Khan was in correspondence with Mirza Aqa Khan, once having corresponded with one another about the fact that that Iranians were forbidden from visiting al-Afghani.[729] Dissident relationships were not strictly limited to those who were 'non-conformists' in and amongst the Iranian community of Istanbul however, as al-Afghani was hosting Young Turks at his home.[730] Danish was not only a classmate of the future Young Turk *Mizancı* Murat at the *Mekteb-i Mülkiye*,[731] but was later personal tutor to the Young Turk Ottoman princes Sabahattin and Lütfullah,[732] the former of whom would actively support the efforts of Iranian constitutionalist exiles in Istanbul after the fall of the Hamidian regime.[733]

Aside from demonstrating the tightness of the 'non-conformist' circle in Istanbul, what emerges from al-Afghani, Esfahani, and Dastaan is that the Hamidian state considered them as employable. The Hamidian regime was prepared to recruit them for its own cause. The State could always impose severe consequences if their alternate relationships and activities revealed potential damage to its own interests (e.g. al-

[723] Gurney, "E. G. Browne and the Iranian Community of Istanbul," 155.
[724] Ibid., 154.
[725] Keddie, *Modern Iran*, 63.
[726] Vahdat, *God and Juggernaut*, 37.
[727] Parsinejad, *A History of Literary Criticism in Iran*, 69, 87.
[728] Sanjabi, "Mardum-Gurīz: An Early Persian Translation of Moliere's Le Misanthrope," 252.
[729] Lettre de Mirzâ Agâ Khân Kermâni à Malkom Khân, in archives Malkom Khân, *op. cit.*, folios 166-167 in Pakdaman, *Dit Afghani*, 172.
[730] Hanioğlu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, 57.
[731] Gurney, "E. G. Browne and the Iranian Community of Istanbul," 154.
[732] Ibid.
[733] Farzin Vejdani, "Crafting Constitutional Narratives: Iranian and Young Turk Solidarity 1907-1909," in *Iran's Constitutional Revolution*, Houchang H. Chehabi and Vanessa Martin ed. (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010), 326.

Afghani). Another way that the State demonstrated its willingness to integrate Iranians into its population was through demanding their legal assimilation. The Hamidian regime ultimately sought the nationalization of Iranians within the Ottoman dominions, regardless of ideological persuasion, creed, or class.

The In/Visible Iranians of Hamidian Istanbul

The intellectual and political 'non-conformist' Iranians of Hamidian Istanbul were an exception and a minority. Though they were still 'non-conformists,' resisting the nationalization of the constituency efforts of the Ottoman and Qajar states alike, it is safe to assume that most of Istanbul's Iranians were visible-invisibles, often driven to the sultan's dominions as economic migrants. They were visible-invisibles, because they were there, but often unnoticed by outside observers and unremarked upon by the domestic population. It is less surprising that Great Power accounts that described the ethno-linguistic diversity of Istanbul over the course of the Hamidian years (and before and beyond) did not distinguish the city's significant Iranian population, considering the fact that the pseudo-ethnographical studies of the city only and noted an urban culture whose makers were the aforementioned group of five: 'Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and foreigners.' Based on the assumption these were the only 'groups' that were assumed to exist, it follows that what was not sought was not found. It can further be argued that the Iranians' shared cultural affinities with the Ottomans (not only Turk, but also Armenian and Jew) were pervasive enough to be missed by superficial observation. E. G. Browne pinpointed the precise nature of the underlying cause for the reason Iranians became invisible in contemporary and historical accounts of Istanbul, when he described the city itself, and reflected on his 1882 visit,

> ... I have heard people express disappointment with Constantinople. I suppose that, wherever one goes, one sees in great measure what one expects to see (because there is good and evil in all things, the eye discerns but one when the mind is occupied by a pre-conceived idea) ... [734]

The salient feature of Great Power accounts of Istanbul was the compartmentalized representation of the city and its residents into five, distinct, artificially nationalized sections, and the related preoccupation with the foreignization of segments of the Ottoman constituency. The eyes of those Great Power travelers to Ottoman capital, coming from an environment in which they were exposed to this 'pre-conceived idea,' saw what they expected to see; their ears heard what they expected to hear.

[734] Browne, *A Year Amongst the Persians*, 12.

Browne had studied and had become familiarized with both Turkish and Persian before taking his first trip to Istanbul. In the Grand Bazaar, he could distinguish Iranians by headdress and language. Full of all the enthusiasm of the novice of a new language, Browne was eager to make contact and speak Persian with those recognized as Iranians. He wrote to his mother about how he approached Mohammad Ali, a carpet seller from Tabriz,

> ...I picked out the most genial looking Persian I could, and went and confided in him that I wanted to talk Persian and did he know anyone that could teach me? He said there were plenty...When I said I should only be here about two weeks more, he said that it was no use beginning now—but I explained that I had read some Persian, and I sat there for some time talking to him...I liked the way he spoke awfully—quite sing-song—with rises and falls all through sentences.[735]

Being able to identify and then approach Mohammad Ali opened for Browne the doors of the carpet seller's room in Valide Han, of Ismail Aqa's Persian bookshop in Sultan Beyazıt, of the Javad Aqa's Persian teahouse.[736]

The odds of the average short-term traveler who was a Great Power observer passing by the same Grand Bazaar corridors, and seeing and hearing what Browne heard were not high, if they were not familiar with either Persian or Turkish. This is a familiar scenario in present-day Istanbul, with Turkish and Arabic. For those who are unexposed to either, it is nearly impossible to distinguish a Syrian taxi or *dolmuş* [minivan] driver from a Turkish one, because of their firm command of the Turkish language. They are 'Turks,' unless a natural and fluid switch to Arabic occurs and is caught by one who is able to distinguish it—e.g. when they pick up the phone or are outside of the vehicle conversing with a fellow driver they are about to switch shifts with. For one who is able to recognize the linguistic shift, what is observed is intellectually set in a context that raises the possibility that the driver is a Syrian refugee. While this may be, other alternatives have not even been considered, for example, the existence of non-Syrian Arab identities and circumstances of Istanbul, or that the driver is an Arabic-speaking Turk. While these less common, yet possible, scenarios become ignored, other generalizations may emerge with the new association, for example, that taxi and *dolmuş* drivers in Istanbul are by-and-large Syrian (like most nineteenth-century Istanbulite foreigners being assumed to be European). The lack of

[735] E.G. Browne papers, Cambridge University Library, letter from Browne to his mother, 31 August, 1882, quoted in Gurney, "E.G. Browne and the Iranian Community in Istanbul," 151.
[736] Gurney, "E.G. Browne and the Iranian Community in Istanbul," 151.

expected possibilities thus results in the categorization of the driver into pre-determined categories, which are not faithful representations.

In the same way that an outsider observer may lack either the attention or the nuanced understanding to be able to distinguish ethno-cultural-linguistic identity of a taxi or *dolmuş* driver in contemporary Turkey (even less so recognize the possibility that not all identities may be aligned), so an outsider observer may have also missed the Iranian identities of many of the city's residents in the Hamidian era. Passing by the very same stalls in the Grand Bazaar as Browne, one might not notice the relative ease with which those individuals were able to switch back and forth between the languages at their disposal, especially if what one was 'expecting' to see was a confirmation of the (read) fact that "[t]he crowd in the Bazars, consisting chiefly of ladies, renders it difficult to pass through them,"[737] or to see a place "where a Turk has the sole opportunity of surveying the lady of his love."[738] That accounts of the city that had compartmentalized it into regions only defined very (few) specific identities also eliminated the no room for the existence of others, in the visitor's imagination. A Ministry of Education employee, State schools teacher, Grand Bazaar merchant, or a Bosporus *macun* vendor were not being conceptualized as possible Iranians, which resulted in their mistakenly being designated membership in alternative, more present and 'dominant,' group identities.

Iranians who would perhaps have remained eternally anonymous without the sentence or two that detailed their encounters and dilemmas in newspapers or public records not only contributed to the making of the capital city's identity, but also the considerations for the Hamidian vision of a nation. Furthermore, they are the ones who can be considered to have woven the fabric of their lives more tightly into that of the Istanbul than their vocal long-distance politico-intellectual activist 'non-conformist' compatriots. One of the newspapers that Danish worked for was *İkdam*—the aforementioned political daily that provides great source material for Deal's *Crimes of Honor, Drunken Brawls, and Murder.* In describing roughneck culture Deal references reports of crimes that are inflicted on random unfortunates. Iranians are scattered in its pages both as perpetrators and victims. One reads of two Iranians who wound each other in a scrimmage, or an Iranian get assaulted by a nationally unidentified porter who

[737] *A Handbook for Travellers in Turkey Describing Constantinople, European Turkey, Asia Minor, Armenia, and Mesopotamia* (London: John Murray, 1854), 92.
[738] Francis Elliot, *Diary of an Idle Woman in Constantinople* (London: John Murray, 1893), 416.

refuses to wait his turn at a fountain.[739] Whatever the 'case' Iranian's were involved in proves that they there to share and contest over space (both in the city, and in print). Even if in the same scattered manner, Iranians have a strong presence in government memoranda. Among other things, they are mentioned for opening printing houses without a license,[740] for illegally distributing copies of the Qur'an that were printed in Iran,[741] for receiving medals,[742] and, most of all, Iranians are mentioned in response to the question of nationality.

Be Ottoman or Leave? Iranians and the Question of Nationality

The Ottoman Nationality Law has been utilized to support the exclusivist nature of the Ottoman nationality construct.[743] Specifically, that the State's "'exclusivist' tone is apparent in the very 'Law on Ottoman Nationality'"[744] has rested on interpretations of Article 8, which considered the offspring of those who become nationals of other states as Ottomans, yet does not automatically confer Ottoman nationality to the offspring of naturalized Ottomans has been expressed to be It is frequently referenced in conjunction with legislation pertaining to (presumed Shi'i) Iranians and (presumed Sunni) Algerians; the latter were living in the Ottoman domains as French citizens. In analyzing the State's to Algerians who retained French status, Deringil states that they were essentially given an ultimatum in 1889: they would either have to accept being "considered" Ottomans within two years of their arrival or, alternatively, if they wanted to remain French, they could leave.[745] Deringil considering the State's exclusivism by coupling Algerian circumstances with Iranians arises from the fact that the same memorandum expressed that French Algerians could not marry Ottoman women; if they did, they "'would be treated according to regulations pertaining to Iranians' and would be forced to leave Ottoman soil.'"[746] Deringil argues that this is an expression of Ottoman exclusivism, because the implication of the abovementioned memorandum is that the residence of both Algerians and Iranians was conditional upon their acceptance

[739] Deal, *Crimes of Honor, Drunken Brawls, and Murder*, 187f.
[740] BOA. MF.MKT. G78.D26.10 Safer1292 [18 March 1875] and BOA.MF.MKT.G123.D26.17 Safer 1292 [25 March 1875].
[741] Selim Deringil, "The Invention of Tradition as Public Image in the Late Ottoman Empire, 1808 to 1908," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35, no. 1 (Jan. 1993), 23 and Deringil, *Well-Protected Domains*, 65.
[742] BOA. MF.MKT.724.64/14 Cemaziyelevvel 1321[8 August 1903].
[743] Deringil, *Well-Protected Domains*, 65.
[744] Ibid., 197, n.61.
[745] Deringil, "The Invention of Tradition," 25.
[746] Ibid., 24f, and Deringil, *Well-Protected Domains*, 65.

of Ottoman nationality. Furthermore, he directly ties his interpretation of the exclusivism that was implied with Article 8, with the conditions imposed on Iranians and Algerians.[747] The problem with this interpretation is that the "Hamidian response to Iranians and the essence of the Ottoman Nationality Law nullify one another. They cannot therefore both, together, support the notion that exclusivism was a component of territorial policies regarding naturalization."[748] Karen Kern's studies of Ottoman-Iranian marriages demonstrate that the law that governed these unions was quite an anomaly.[749]

Deringil's argument that "it was no longer enough to be Muslim, or indeed Sunni,"[750] is accepted—in fact, it is accepted unconditionally. The Hamidian state was interested in the nationalization of its constituency. Whether one was a Muslim mattered less within this context, because nationalization is also, ultimately, about extracting obligations from the citizenry. Since Muslims and non-Muslims had the same obligations under the equalizing rational framework of the Tanzimat reforms, it was more advantageous for the territorial State to be inhabited by a populace that was dominated by taxable and conscript-able Ottomans rather than foreigners. When the emphasis that has been placed upon the fact that "during the reign of Abdülhamid II ... the Ottoman caliphate launched a major initiative aimed at commanding a new basis of solidarity among its Islamic subjects,"[751] is combined with the State's "effort to monopolize official sacrality"[752] and its "Hanefization"[753] campaigns, however, the sum could be interpreted as auxiliaries for the argument that the state's exclusivism privileged Hanefi-Sunni Ottomans. The state's approach, however, reveals no such preference in the zone of migration and naturalization—especially since the Ottoman Nationality Law that articulated who could or could not become Ottoman was ethno-religiously neutral, neither could it evidence exclusivism at the expense of Iranians and Algerians, to whom it did not apply.

The Ottoman State did not possess a unilateral dictate over the status of Iranians. Neither did their status solely depend on the Ottoman Nationality Law. In fact,

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[747] The exclusivist article of Article 8 is a footnote to the mentioned ultimatum for Iranians and Algerians, that intended to further demonstrate that the state was exclusivist. Deringil, *Well-Protected Domains*, 65 and 197.
[748] Akcasu, "Migrants to Citizens," 400.
[749] Kern, *Imperial Citizenship* and "Rethinking Ottoman Frontier Policies."
[750] Deringil, *Well-Protected Domains*, 55.
[751] Ibid., 47.
[752] Ibid., 53.
[753] Ibid., 69.

Nationality Law may not have even applied to Iranians for the first four years after its enactment. It was a 14 December 1873 Qajar-Ottoman treaty that addressed the issue; it

> … formally declared that the law on Ottoman nationality is applicable to Persians. Article 6 of this treaty also specified that despite their Muslim character, the Persians established in Turkey are foreigners. This here is the proof that the ancient Muslim law had ceded its place to the law of *gens moderne.*[754]

While the Ottoman Nationality Law was an instrument for creating a citizenry, and "citizenship also aimed to further mark the border between Ottoman and non-Ottoman Muslims,"[755] it seems that it took four years to officially reconcile the secular principles of the Ottoman nationality law with the formal delineation of national borders and identities for the *umma*. With the mutual acceptance of the nationalization of the *umma* that occurred between the Ottoman and Qajar states in 1873, Iranians who were under the allegiance of the Qajar state became unequivocally excluded from the Ottoman nation-under-formation, as every other national of every other state had been in 1869.

A year after the Ottoman Nationality Law was extended to Iranians, the State went even further in seemingly excluding Iranians from its nationalizing constituency, as it "enacted on [7 October 1874] the Law Protecting the Prohibition of Marriage between Iranians and Ottoman Citizens."[756] Its three articles stipulated that (1) Ottoman citizens could not marry Iranian citizens, (2) those who violated the law by marrying them would be punished, and, most importantly, (3) "[If] a woman who is an Ottoman citizen marries someone who is an Iranian citizen against the prohibition, both the woman and her children will be considered Ottoman citizens and liable for conscription, military tax, and other financial obligations."[757] This legislation has been interpreted as a punishment of "Ottoman women who married Iranian men, requiring them to forfeit their citizenship."[758] The final article of the 'Law Protecting the Prohibition of Marriage between Iranians and Ottoman Citizens' is the "similarly tough attitude"[759] that was extended to French Algerians in 1889.[760] Yet one more year later, in 1875, the Ottoman-Persian Convention was passed, "a reciprocal agreement that accorded a capitulatory status to Iran and was similar to agreements with European states. The convention

[754] *Archives diplomatiques, 1875, IV,* p.142 in Cardahi, "La Conception et la pratique du droit international privé dans l'Islam," 534.
[755] Campos, *Ottoman Brothers*, 62.
[756] Kern, *Imperial Citizen*, 90.
[757] Ibid.
[758] Campos, *Ottoman Brothers,* 62.
[759] Ibid.
[760] Kern, *Imperial Citizenship*, 93; Deringil, *Well-Protected Domains*, 55; Campos, *Ottoman Brothers*, 62.

confirmed that Iranian consuls had the same rights as their European counterparts."[761] It can be presumed that by the end of 1875, there was no question as to the foreign-ness of the Qajar state and those who owed it allegiance, in the legal framework that rationalized Ottoman relations with the State's 'Muslim' neighbor. On the other hand, neither the 1873 extension of the rules of the Nationality Law to Iranians, the 1874 ban on Iranian and Ottoman marriages, nor the 1875 convention, had eliminated the potential of those very Iranians who were nationalized in from eventually belonging to the Ottoman state. It only subjected their naturalization to a different set of procedures.

There existed a gray zone in the State's dynamics, between the laws that reinforced the official discourse and the actual implications of their enforcement. Those who had formulated the official justification of the 1874 marriage ban put the stress on religion, in other words,

> ... [i]f these marriages were sanctioned they feared that many Ottoman Sunni women would convert to Shi'ism and many more Ottoman Shi'i children would be born [...] [and t]he loyalty of the male Shi'i children would also be brought into question and threaten the integrity of the armed forces.[762]

Assuming that these fears were substantiated, i.e. Ottoman women who married Iranians converted to Shi'ism, gave birth to Shi'i children, and the State was preoccupied with minimizing the number of Shi'i Ottoman women and soldiers, then the manner in which Article 3 of the Marriage Prohibition addressed this issue was odd, the implications of its enforcement would not even have kept the numbers of Ottoman Shi'i women and children constant. The application of the law would have only increased the numbers: if obeyed, then the conversion and offspring (potential conscript) issue was moot—and numbers were static, if disobeyed, those women who had presumably converted would remain Ottoman and their illegal Shi'i born offspring would be adopted by the State into the constituency of the nation-under-formation. The only alternate possibility was for the Iranian husband to have naturalized as an Ottoman prior to marriage. The irony in this case is that result of abiding by the law and the punishment for breaking the law materialized with the same exact final outcome: the Ottomanization of the nationally mixed Ottoman-Iranian family unit that had formed within territories.

Religion and nationality were not two parts of the same formula for the State, even if they were a part of the same conversation. This was not even the case for the

[761] Kern, "Rethinking Ottoman Frontier Policies," 13.
[762] Ibid., 25.

Hamidian state. It could not be, since the confines of the Ottoman nationality that had been inherited by the Hamidian regime were ethno-religiously neutral. The abovementioned laws and regulations were, on one level, essential for the State to be able to integrate the frontier into the center's jurisdiction, especially since border zone identities were more frequently swapped to evade citizen obligations, as Lord Curzon had noted in 1892. Their even implementation throughout the territories only maximized the number of potential Ottomans. When the 1874 law was drafted, "there were 100,000 Iranians living in the empire and, if they marry as they so chose, there would be thousands of foreigners in the empire."[763] That they would be foreign was a greater problem than them being Shi'i—religion was a secondary concern that the Hamidian state addressed with 'Hanefization' efforts. Practical jurisdiction was a part of the national formula—and was equally applicable to Sunni, Shi'i, Jew, Christian, and presumed-/atheist. It was in the interest of the State to impose the nation-under-formation on the offspring. Despite having deemed the children of Ottoman-Iranian marriages illegal, the State nevertheless demanded that these children be recorded in the civil registry (*sicill-i nüfus*) and given their Ottoman identification documents (*tezkire-i Osmaniye*).[764]

There was a great contrast between what state legislation hoped to achieve in regions it willed to have greater jurisdiction and where it actually had such jurisdiction. That the Hamidian state did not exclude Iranians from being potential members of an ('exclusivist') Ottoman nation becomes more evident in Istanbul. The capital had granted legal and illegal Iranian immigrants various degrees of integration and legal assimilation. Their numerical strength in the city's overall population went hand in hand with the existence of all of the civil establishments indicative of a deeply entrenched expatriate 'colony' in Istanbul that would have been able to support its population in an exclusively Iranian manner—"during the last quarter of the twentieth century and the first quarter of the twentieth century, Istanbul harboured many active Persian civic institutions, including a school, a hospital, publishing houses, and newspapers."[765] The city even had a "Committee of Persian Women."[766] It was presumably the women's

[763] Kern, *Imperial Citizenship*, 97.
[764] BOA. DH.MKT.2602/9 Zilkade 1321 [27 January 1904], DH. MKT.801.43/26 Ramazan 1321 [16 December 1903].
[765] Chelkowski, "Edward G. Browne's Turkish Connexion," 28.
[766] Gurney, "E.G. Browne and the Iranian Community in Istanbul," 165, n.49.

committee's telegraphic appeal[767] to King Edward VII during the Istanbulite Iranians' protests for a Constitutional regime in their home state that had prompted a historical overview of the versatile community in Istanbul in the British Press.[768] February 1909 was not the first time the 'Committee of Persian Women' of Istanbul had appealed to the British government for their cause, however, as they had received another public acknowledgment from the Queen in September 1908, reassuring them that, "His Majesty's government are already taking such steps as are in their power, consistently with the independence of Persia, to promote the restoration of order in Persia."[769] That the Iranians of Istanbul were not 'forced to leave' if they had not adopted Ottoman nationality also made itself evident in the Iranian constitutionalist struggle that was being waged out of Istanbul, after the July 1908 Young Turk Revolution. Namely, in early August 1908, "The Persian Colony in Constantinople have threatened to become Turkish subjects unless the Shah restores the Parliamentary régime in Persia."[770] The members of the 'Persian colony' that had been there to the very end of the Hamidian regime had yet to 'conform' to either the Ottoman or Qajar demands of nationalization.

Despite Hamidian era ultimatums expressing that Iranians and Algerians would be "forced to leave Ottoman soil"[771] if they did not adopt nationality within a given period of time, many within the Iranian community remained well past the requisite time allotted without applying for nationalization, or repercussions. Furthermore, those that did apply to become official Ottomans received their membership to the State that had been their host with relative ease. According to the Ottoman Nationality Law, foreigners could apply for naturalization after five years of residence. According to the additional regulations that inform Deringil and Kern's studies, the regulations for Iranians differed: they were given two years. While some applied for naturalization, but it seems seldom to have been the case that the State was able to successfully 'automatically consider' Iranian immigrants as Ottomans. If 'possession' of power and

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[767] *Manchester Guardian* (15 February 1909) in Gurney, "E.G. Browne and the Iranian Community in Istanbul," 165, n.49.
[768] "The Persians in Constantinople," *Aberdeen Press and Journal* and *Leeds Mercury* (5 June 1909). This was a "Press Association Foreign Special" that appeared in many newspapers.
[769] Two among the many verbatim reprints of the Reuter communication were "The Queen and Persian Women," *Manchester courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* and "Sir E. Grey's Telegram to Persian Ladies," *London Daily News* (15 September 1908).
[770] "News in a Nutshell," *Hendon & Finchley Times* (7 August 1908).
[771] Deringil, "The Invention of Tradition," 25 and *Well-Protected Domains*, 65; Kern, *Imperial Citizenship*, 93.

its 'exercise' are accepted to be the "difference between potential and actual power,"[772] the Ottoman government had 'potential' power over Iranians. Often, it was either not willing or not able to translate this into 'actual' power through its 'exercising' it. Where the State did assert itself with great vigor was in the realm of marriage and family (to varying degrees of success).

Iranian adherences to the regulations pertaining marriage with Ottoman nationals are as irregular as the State's enforcement of them. Some individuals took it upon themselves to abide by the law. This did not mean that Iranian men did not marry Ottoman women. Rather, some Iranian men adopted Ottoman nationality in order to legally marry Ottoman women—all it took to have a sanctioned marriage between an Iranian and an Ottoman was the former's naturalization. Feyzi Efendi, a Persian instructor at the *Mekteb-i Sultani* state high school in Istanbul (where Esfahani was his predecessor and the Robinson boys were students) was one such individual. The State expressed Feyzi's marriage to an Ottoman woman to be inappropriate, because of the law that prohibits marriages between the two nationals. Feyzi disputed this on the grounds that he had actually already been naturalized, and the regulations therefore did not apply to him.[773] Neither does it seem to have been very difficult for an Iranian to become Ottomans, since, in July of 1884, the Ministry of the Interior received a memo stating it to be a cause for concern that Iranian applicants were naturalized without the inquiries undertaken for those of other nationalities.[774] Summarily, the state's adoption of the illegal offspring of forbidden Ottoman-Iranian marriages into its emerging citizenry, the relative ease with which Iranians were naturalized, added to the fact that Iranians were not consistently 'forced to leave' within the timeframe articulated in the State's ultimatum to them (and Algerians), collectively, indicates that despite the clear *othering* of the Iranian in the official discourse and legal theory, what occurred in practice was that the Iranian was encouraged to become an Ottoman.

[772] Steven Lukes, *Power: A Radical View* (London: MacMillan, 1974), 12.
[773] BOA. DH.MKT.1850.103/4 Ramazan 1308 [13 April 1891].
[774] BOA. DH.MKT.98.1343/13 Rabiuevvel 1301 [12 January 1884].

The Hamidian Vision of a Nation

After three decades of absolutist rule, on 24 July 1908, Sultan Abdülhamid II declared the reinstitution of the *Kanun-i Esasi*. The collective sentimental response of Ottomans of every race, creed, and locality, has aptly been rendered into text as "euphoria."[775] The July celebrations in Istanbul had the participation of "[t]housands of traders, industrialists, and other professionals of all confessions—Muslims, Greeks, Armenians, and Jews."[776] The domestic and exilic press, along with the foreign-language periodicals based in the capital,[777] reported the impressions of the local population. Within days, in newspapers published as near the epicenter of events as Istanbul and as distant from them as South America, the Ottoman Constitution and Sultan Abdülhamid were both praised by the wider constituency. In Argentina, for example, the events had

> ...provided a heady elixir of communal identification and a source of pride that was commemorated by the Syrian colonies ... [the Syrian-Ottoman Commission circulated a pamphlet in the press for a 'patriotic event' that] ... featured the Ottoman coat of arms and images of five key figures in Ottoman socio-political life ... The symbols were uniquely Ottoman, as opposed to Arab, Syrian or Lebanese.[778]

When the State designated 10 *Temmuz* (Rumi) as a 'national Ottoman holiday' (*İyd-i Milli Osmani*) the following year, the nation was sealed for the first time. This had not occurred in a vacuum, however. If 'nationalism engenders nations,'[779] it follows that the ideological milestones that laid the foundations for the achievement of an Ottoman collectivity were realized over the duration of the Hamidian era. The topic of this thesis has been the features of the Hamidian vision for the Ottoman collectivity, observed through foreigners who the State admitted as members to the nation-under-formation.

The Hamidian regime constructed a multi-faceted official nationalism and formed a malleable Ottoman nation that was in constant negotiation with foreign 'others.' It did

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[775] Der Matossian, *Shattered Dreams of Revolution*.
[776] Ibid., 23.
[777] For *Levant Herald*'s coverage, see, Der Matossian, *Shattered Dreams of Revolution*, 23.
[778] Steven Hyland Jr., "Arisen from Deep Slumber," 562. The five figures were Namık Kemal, Mustafa Fazıl, Abdülhamid, Midhat Paşa, and Ahmed Rıza. The presence of Ahmed Rıza in this particular press can be attributed to the Argentina being a positivist state; there were other Constitutional memorabilia, elsewhere, that chose Sabahattin as the figure of the intellectuals among the Young Turk liberators. For the differences amongst the two's intellectual outlooks, see, Taglia, *Intellectuals and Reform in the Ottoman Empire.* For a debate on the "dominance" of positivism in the Argentinian political sphere, see, for example, Jean H. Delaney and Jeane H. Delaney, "Imagining 'El Ser Argentino': Cultural Nationalism and Romantic Concepts of Nationhood in Early Twentieth-Century Argentina," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 34, no. 3 (Aug. 2002): 625-658.
[779] Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 54.

not, however, seal the nation by declaring its existence. This final act would have been in direct conflict with the interest of the House of Osman, because an explicit and formal acknowledgment of the nation's existence would have necessitated a cathartic moment in which a transfer of sovereignty from the absolute monarch to the very nation it helped create would have had to occur. Accordingly, when the nation *was* finally declared in 1909, it accompanied the collapse of sultanic authority. So long as the nation was not officially sealed, however, it could also expand. Though the Hamidian regime did not seek the State's territorial growth, it certainly promoted ideological and demographic expansion. Hamidian expansionism was constricted to navigate within the confines of yet another nineteenth-century transformation: modernization, as expressed in the centralization and rationalization of the State.

The Ottoman government began to rationalize during the Napoleonic era. In other words, it began drawing up binding contracts between state and subject that clearly articulated their mutual secular obligations to one another. Each party became increasingly accountable and, ultimately, both were obliged to serve the greater welfare of the State. In a bid to restrain the ambitions of a small subject sample that had locally acquired legitimate authority independent of the State, the 1808 *Sened-i İttifak* was the charter that, with its evident limitations, initiated the process of directly weaving the interest of the sovereign and subject, alike, into the interest of the greater polity. Each ensuing contract proliferated the number of interested parties and, thus, gradually, shaped the conversion of subjects into citizens. The trajectory of this development is well documented and interpreted—both in the decline and revisionist narratives of the late-Ottoman history. It suffices to say that the State initiated a proto-nationalism by popularizing the signifier 'Ottoman' with the *Hatt-i Şerif-i Gülhane* of 1839, which it reinforced (at its own expense, in the context of the damaging Treaty of Paris)[780] with the 1856 *Islahat Fermanı*. While an Ottoman was defined at the onset of the Tanzimat, Ottomanism did not transition from a proto-nationalism into an official nationalism until the State defined those who were *not* Ottomans with the *Tabiiyet-i Osmaniye Kanunnamesi* of 1869. Because rational precedence had set an equalizing tone, the legal Ottoman defined by the nationality law was not differentiated by culture, religion, or race. Nor could these variables be expressed as conditions for who could become an Ottoman, given the neutral definition. The *Tabiiyet-i Osmaniye Kanunnamesi* only

[780] Abu-Manneh, "Two Concepts of State in the Tanzimat Period: the Hatt-ı Şerif of Gülhane and the Hatt-ı Hümayun," 128.

made a reference to 'Ottomans' and 'foreigners.' It defined each, and the conditions for swapping secular identities, without further ethno-religious qualifications.

Equalizing membership in/to the polity challenged the historical source of the Ottoman dynasty's legitimacy, theretofore exercised with the inherent compatibility of the merger (and mutual reinforcement) of divine and temporal authority afforded by pre-modernity. One of the ways that Ottoman sultans could previously demonstrate the extent to which they were the embodiment of temporal and divine authority was by offering membership to foreign Muslim converts, for example. In the Nationality Law there was no such privileged access. Only Article 4 had the potential to mask a 'bias.'[781] Similar to other nationality laws of the era, it articulated that the Ottoman government reserved the right to confer nationality on individuals who had not met the articulated stipulations. Because the Nationality Law allowed foreigners born within the dominions the right to claim nationality within three years of reaching majority (Art. 2) and those born elsewhere the right to petition for it after five years residence (Art. 3), however, even if the State used Article 4 to privilege Muslim foreigners (who were not its only beneficiaries) the sole advantage they would have attained over non-Muslims would have been that their naturalization would be expedited. The Sultan's ability to assert his role as the protector and spiritual leader of a transnational *umma* was thus moderately jeopardized over the course of the 'reorganization' of the State, until 1876.

In order to maintain the House of Osman's dominance in each realm it had previously monopolized power in, Sultan Abdülhamid II utilized the opportunities provided by the principles enshrined in the *Kanun-i Esasi* of 1876 (the declaration of which his accession of was contingent upon).[782] Abdülhamid's suspension of the Constitution and dissolution of parliament in 1878 has allowed historians to dismiss the utility of the inter-/national legitimation of the Constitution's principles by its mere textualization, along with the idea of Hamidian liberalism. It shrouds several nuances to accept that the Hamidian regime promulgated the Constitution and parliament as a political ploy and discarded both at the first opportunity that presented itself as a state of 'exception.' The sovereign thus reigned for thirty years with absolute power, because the regime's intention, all along, was to deny the constituency the liberties and representative government articulated in the Constitution. Even if the premise of this

[781] Cardahi, "La Conception et la pratique du droit international privé dans l'Islam," 533.
[782] Midhat Bey, *The Life of Midhat Pasha,* pp. 97-104.

argument is accepted, one has to come to terms with the fact that the Hamidian regime did not hide the Constitution from its constituency.

The Hamidian state printed the Constitution every year in the *Salname-i Devlet-i Aliye-yi Osmaniye*. Thus the regime circulated each article it had violated, along with those it did not. Though historians may have, by and large, neglected the question of "what a state of exception might look like in the Ottoman context … [and have, instead] asked why it was that Ottoman constitutionalism failed,"[783] the absolutist sultan who had suspended the 'Fundamental Law' nevertheless had to justify this action while simultaneously demonstrating to his constituency that he was loyal to its essence. Naturally, the essence could be contested. It could be argued that the Hamidian regime preferred to suggest that the essence of the Constitution laid in the secular and divine status it confirmed for the House of Osman and in the guarantees it promised the individuals—whose existence as a consequential entity had already attained *a priori* status in the modernizing state's legal and political discourse. It thus tried to mobilize bias in favour of the sentiment that government could be for the people, by the (just) sovereign, i.e. the sultan would be their representative *and* authority. Clearly this was unsustainable and incompatible with what would be the interpretation of the constituency the moment it believed itself to be a nation. The 'Ottoman' collectivity was composed of individuals whose interests had come to be woven into the interest of the State. Perpetually persuaded to believe that they had a stake in the welfare of the State, the forming citizenry would inevitably mature to demand a say in its affairs as active participants. This could only be satisfied with representative government; for the people, by the people—even if only by semblance. 'Individuals' are not content with absolute rule. By giving the impression that the essence of the Constitution was adhered to, the regime was only able to postpone the cathartic moment in which sovereignty would be transferred to the people. The forming of the impression necessitated their awareness of the Constitution.

The Hamidian state needed the Constitution to be suspended, not invalidated, because it confirmed the sovereign's historical claims to legitimacy in the new rational framework. While the sultan discarded the articles 42—80,[784] wholesale, along with many others, he would hardly deny the monumental importance of the first seven

[783] Miller, "Legal History of the Ottoman Empire," 292.
[784] These all relate to the Gerenal Assembly and Parliament, *Salname-i Devlet-i Aliye-i Osmaniye: Kırk Yedinci Sene*, pp. 106—113 (1309/1893-94).

articles. The introductory set of the canon acknowledged the territories to be inviolable and Istanbul as the State's capital. The role of the Ottoman sultan and caliph of Islam were declared to belong (literally, to return)[785] to the eldest (implicitly male) descendant of the Osman dynasty. The sultan who was the sovereign of all Ottomans was proclaimed as the guardian of Islam, his person was sacred, and the liberties of the dynasty were guaranteed. Finally, the Constitution articulated the explicit prerogatives of the sultan as sovereign, which, along with allotting him the right to prorogue the General Assembly and dissolve Parliament (for an unspecified duration of time until the election of new members), included carrying out the commands of the Shari'a *and* law.[786] It was the Constitution that reinstated the sultan's divine jurisdiction on a universal scale in the rational framework while simultaneously asserting the maintenance of his secular authority over a neutral Ottoman populace within a territorially defined state. The social existence of the Constitution and access to its principles (even with some being in a state of suspension) was necessary for Abdülhamid. The suspended Constitution allowed the regime not only to reclaim its relationship with its 'core constituency,' but also to bifurcate its official nationalism in a manner that allowed it to bargain for the allegiance of extra-territorial adherents. Furthermore, it was through the precepts of the Constitution that Hamidian policies that have been identified as 'exclusivist' in the historiography (but have here been argued to have instead been expansionist) were carried out. This facet of the Hamidian mode of government makes itself especially apparent in the State's engagements with foreigners. The preceding chapters have observed this phenomenon in Istanbul, the capital city of the Ottoman state.

'Istanbul,' the actual name(s) of the city itself, has been demonstrated as revealing an analogy for the construction of late-Ottoman national identity. How the Hamidian regime approached the circulation of the capital city's many designators (even those whose connotations could have challenged its very possession of it) was how it approached citizens: the State indexed itself as the ultimate authority by ambitiously claiming all manifestations of identity. As mentioned, Istanbul has been chosen as the setting of this particular study of state-migrant interactions for three reasons. The most self-evident among them is that (1) it was the capital of the Ottoman state. It has been argued that because this urban center was the seat of the sultan-caliph and the governing

[785] *Salname-i Devlet-i Aliye-i Osmaniye: Kırk Yedinci Sene*, 99.
[786] Ibid, 99f.

apparatus, it was the city in which the Ottoman government was able to most directly exercise power. It was also a competitive space, however, as it has also been claimed that Istanbul was where the (domestic and foreign sourced) limitations on the State's power were the most direct, diversified, condensed, and exaggerated, i.e. Istanbul was where the Hamidian regime surveilled, while under surveillance. (2) The city that was this zone of contestation, between and amongst domestic and foreign elements, was where the State-dictated an ideologically malleable vision of the nation that was nevertheless restricted to the confines imposed by static legal definitions of identity that had been inherited by the Hamidian regime. In other words, Istanbul was both the supplier of the fabric and the atelier in which the late Ottoman social, political, legal, and ideological 'self,' was crafted—by contrasted 'others.' (3) Despite the plethora of literature on the Ottoman capital, the historical memory of the city remains incomplete.

Social histories of late-Ottoman and Hamidian Istanbul have only recently begun to filter out the residue of decline and civilizational (oppositional) narratives that stressed a clear Muslim-non-Muslim division and favored the submission of a complex and interlinked city that was characterized by contact to the *façade* of a neatly compartmentalized and segregated one. It has been re-iterated that this preference was especially salient in Great Power accounts. In particular, Istanbul was subjected to the simplifying effects of the general acceptance that it hosted a community of 'minorities and foreigners' (a compound descriptive that has been argued to have foreignized of a part of the indigenous constituency). This precedence has condensed the impression of foreigners in Istanbul into Great Powers agents and subjects, and their protégés. The nature of 'stereotypical' Great Power presence has been discussed, as it is undeniable that it was an essential and pervasive component of Istanbul. It has also been argued, however, that the visibility of the 'European' was directly linked to the observer's expectations of their presence. Not only were they expected to be seen, they were assumed to inhabit a particular district, wear a certain attire, and have a distinct attitude and character, etc. The simplified and emblematic *Frenk* has been overly emphasized in the literature of the nineteenth century and beyond—both produced in the 'Orient' and 'Occident'—for understandable reasons (due to the social, economic, political, but, also and especially, civilizational and symbolic 'impact' of what s/he represented). This overemphasis has had detrimental impact on those foreigners that were not seen or heard, only because they were not expected to *be*, i.e. those who had been rendered invisible.

The Hamidian State's interaction with invisible foreigners fulfills its inherent potential to challenge some very basic assumptions about the nature of the Ottoman host state, the immigrant's abandoned home state, and the Hamidian vision for a nation. Following a sketch of common impressions of the city and its Great Power nationals, this thesis has questioned the connotations associated with the era's Great Power nationals. By this means, it has contributed to recent literature on Europeans who were marginal in their homelands. Malte Fuhrmann, especially, has demonstrated the manner in which members of the Habsburg underworld—by their mere presence and visibility—disputed their state's civilizational narratives and compromised their imperialist ambitions in the Ottoman dominions. Their lives did not evidence features of the cultural superiority their national cultures had claimed. The Hamidian state (and those following it) utilized the contradiction between the self-purported moral superiority of 'the West' (often the pretext for encroachment) by hosting and naturalizing the members of its underworld in order to parade the blemishes of 'Western civilization' in front of the eyes of the domestic constituency. Great Power residents in Istanbul were not a single collective whole, living within the invisible borders of the *Frengistan* of Pera and other 'European' districts. Neither were they solely agents and transmitters of their home state's metanarrative—i.e. they were not necessarily reliable upholders of their home states' cultural mission. There were those among them who denied the rhetoric of their newly-formed/forming nations and rejected the identities imposed on them. This idea has been developed with a marginal Great Power national who resisted becoming the living (and, willing) testament to progress and moral superiority associated with her designated 'civilization,' since Western promises were deferred in the homeland for social outcasts.

This study has diversified the Great Power national in the Ottoman dominions with the study of a female English Muslim convert. Women—whose 'condition' in a given society was used as a rubric of 'progress'—were both discarded and contested for by nineteenth-century states. It has been argued that sex-worker outcasts shared a similar existence to those who have generally been presumed to occupy the opposite end of the moral spectrum: converts. This argument has demonstrated that while an 'Ottoman' was an ethno-religiously neutral identifier in the secular-rational realm, Ottomanism, the official nationalist ideology as it was formulated by the Hamidian regime, was expansionist. It appealed to the transnational *umma* and recruited adherents. The role of the sultan as caliph was propagated to the transnational *umma* through the instrument of

the press—the British Muslim organ of *The Crescent* has been the case study observed, here. As the supreme commander and protector of the faithful, the sultan-caliph was presented to the readership as being personally invested in the welfare of the *umma*—he was additionally presented as being accessible. The success of the propaganda was verified, among other means, by the appeals that single and destitute convert women made, directly to the State. The Hamidian regime provided social welfare services to foreign women who had converted to Islam. It gave them benefits ordinarily reserved for citizens without them being nationals because their eventual naturalization was presumed imminent. Some letters expressed the need for the State's help (e.g. stipend and shelter), *until* marriage. Upon marriage, Great Power women would become legally assimilated Ottomans. The irony was that this would occur as a consequence of Great Powers' states' nationality laws that ejected women who married foreigners from their nations. The national identity politics that were a part of the nineteenth century (international) legal framework have been approached from the State's engagements with women both through what was (vaguely) articulated in the Nationality Law and supplemental legislation that aimed to keep natural-born women living within the dominions as members of the Ottoman constituency.

The Ottoman Nationality Law and the status of Iranians (male) have come to be taken for granted as integral components of the debates that deliberate the Hamidian state's 'exclusivism' and 'pan-Islamism.' These arguments have especially been geared to interpret the Hamidian regime's ideology, despite the fact that the proof pre-dates the era's commencement, i.e. the Hamidian state inherited the 1869 Nationality Law. The conclusions are thus bolstered by a new consensus that was established prior to advent of the reign of Abdülhamid—namely, the distribution of the transnational *umma* in (and out of) state borders and the designation of secular identities to its members. This was achieved with the rationalization and nationalization efforts of the Tanzimat reforms. They were verified with the Constitution that was declared (and, later, suspended) by the Hamidian regime. It has been argued in that religious considerations that have been given paramount importance in evaluating the Hamidian state's engagement with the status of and regulations pertaining to Iranians should be seen, in fact, as a secondary consideration. An analysis of the discrepancies between the legal text and praxis has, in fact, revealed that the State prioritized its national interest. It was able to negotiate these priorities more assertively with the Qajar state than with the Great Powers. Compounded with the socio-religious struggles within the former was the ability of the

Ottoman state to dictate terms due to the simple fact that it had established precedence over the Qajar state in the timing of its nationalization. The contact zone of Ottoman-Iranian marriages have demonstrated this phenomenon.

The Ottoman Nationality Law did not articulate the status of Ottoman women who married foreigners. It only provided an entry back into the forming Ottoman nation for natural-born women who had lost their nationality after having married a foreigner whose home-state law had articulated that the nationality of the husband would be automatically extended to the wife and offspring. Thus, Great Power women, both those who were to be concealed from the Ottoman gaze and those who were discarded by their natural-born nations upon marriage to a foreign-national, joined natural-born Ottoman women whose inclusion the State was contesting over, in the making of Ottoman national identity. The argument in this section accepted some conclusions of the existing scholarship discussing the different set of laws that applied to Iranians. Summarily, it has accepted that the he marriage prohibition between Ottoman women and Iranian men is proof that the Hamidian regime was not pan-Islamist and, even, that it was, only partially 'exclusivist.' It also has challenged some assumptions, however, in arguing that because the punishment for those who married against the regulations of the prohibition was the imposition of Ottoman nationality for all, and that the State enforced the punishment more than it prevented the crime, with regard to foreign Shi'i (and Sunni) Muslims, the State prioritized naturalization, which placed the individuals already living in the Ottoman territories within the State's jurisdiction. Thus the importance of religion has been argued to be secondary to naturalization, as the latter was more directly tied to the national interest of the Hamidian state. The manner in which the regime was 'exclusivist' has been argued to not be implicitly in favor of those who exhibited the Sunni (-Hanefi-) Ottoman identity. Instead, the State's efforts were channeled into Ottomanization. Naturalizing foreigners, regardless of their ethno-religious identifications, was in the Ottoman national interest. Exclusivism could only operate within the confines of rational law, and thus favored neutral Ottomans within the secular domestic sphere—a redundancy. A Muslim bias was instead expressed in the transnational sphere, which was inclusive of the domestic, within the jurisdiction of Abdülhamid's authority as caliph.

The declaration of the Ottoman Constitution allowed for the bifurcation of official nationalism into two spheres: the territorial and the extraterritorial.[787] It has been argued that territorial Ottomanism operated on the secular principles that were embodied in the Nationality Law, whereas extra-territorial Ottomanism was based on the sultan's divine authority and jurisdiction—which had been reintegrated into the modernizing national framework with the Constitution. The Hamidian state's accommodation of Muslim and non-Muslim im-/migrants into the 'well-protected domains' over the course of the Hamidian years has demonstrated this, through the State's interactions with foreigners in both the domestic and transnational spheres. The development of Ottoman identity has hitherto been studied from within. While the capacity of this lens to illuminate features of the late-Ottoman state and the Hamidian regime has been monumental, it has also had its shortcomings. National identities are most essentially built in active negotiation with foreign outsiders, created by contrasts. It has been demonstrated that in the Ottoman case, the foreignization of indigenous elements has blurred the distinction between sentimental and legal foreigners. The historiography has assumed pre-Young Turk era sentimental foreigners to be overwhelmingly non-Muslim and has paired this with the argument that Sunni (-Hanefi-) Muslims had always been the core-constituency that Hamidian ideological legitimation policies were directed at. This has reinforced (and, perhaps, superimposed) a religious identification being the predominant national concern over the course of the Hamidian years. What has been argued here is the contrary: that religious identification was unambiguously a secondary concern. It has also been suggested that a religious-exclusivist designation for Hamidian legitimation policies has the potential to be misleading, as it was the outcome of the separate discourses of territorial and extraterritorial Ottomanism that only merged in being simultaneously directed at the numerically dominant constituency, i.e. natural-born Muslim Ottomans. It becomes evident upon the evaluation of the integration of foreigners into the Hamidian nation-under-construction that the two discourses of state-propagated belonging were not fused but distinct (yet complimentary).

The Hamidian regime was heavily invested in the project of nation-formation. In modernity, the relationship between the newly engendered politically consequential individual and authority became rationalized in mutually binding contracts that wove the interest of each party into the general welfare of the State. The Ottoman state was no

[787] Akcasu, "Migrants to Citizens."

exception. Even if he ruled absolutely, Sultan Abdülhamid II was as constricted by legal confines and precedent that he had inherited, as much as any other modernizing sovereign of alternate nineteenth-century nations-under-construction. Accordingly, a legal Ottoman was an otherwise neutral and static designator, which was only contrasted by the (equally static and neutral) quality of being foreign. 'The' Ottoman identity encapsulated, *en masse* and without differentiation, the multi-racial, multi-ethnic, and polyglot natural-born constituency within the dominions (including those with irredentist ambitions). The Constitution had confirmed the essence of this identity, formally and officially in the making since 1839, when it declared, "all individuals who are under the allegiance of the Ottoman state, irrespective of whatever religion or denomination to which they belong, are, without exception, Ottomans." [788] The Hamidian regime did not challenge the definition of an Ottoman. On the contrary, it used the ambiguity of Ottoman-ness equally as a tool of demographic and ideological expansion as well as for nation-building. Abdülhamid reserved the right to appeal to the sentiments of extraterritorial foreigners based upon the traditional religious authority of the House of Osman that was re-confirmed as his prerogative in a transnational, universal, capacity in the process of rationalization. Furthermore, the Ottoman sovereign actively solicited adherents to an extraterritorial Ottomanism that capitalized on his position as caliph and protector of Islam and Muslims, which consolidated his authority. The caliph was also prepared for the migration of new adherents, though it did not necessarily solicit it—those among them who were Great Power nationals, or their colonial subjects, provided the Hamidian regime political leverage against the ambitions of (social, cultural, economic, and moral) imperialist competitors, if they maintained their residence in their Great Power home states. If those who were ideological adherents did traverse the constructed ideological and civilizational divide and enter the sultan's legal domains, where secular considerations took precedence over religious ones, however, they became the recipients of a different discourse, i.e. the same one that was directed at pre-existing territorial foreigners and the natural-born constituency, of 'whatever religion or denomination.' In the final stage, secular Ottomanism out bid all allegiances. In the interest of nation and state, their naturalization was expected. Thus the Hamidian regime's vision was for the territorial state to be inhabited by an unsealed nation of Ottomans, exclusively.

[788] *Salname-i Devlet-i Aliye-yi Osmaniye: Kırk Yedinci Sene*, 100.

Appendix

Image I.I: Image of page 14 in the 1909/10 [1327, Rumi Calendar] *Salname-i Devlet-i Aliye-i Osmaniye: Altmış Altıncı Defa* Dersaadet: Selanik Matbaası, 1327 [1909/10] that memorializes the Ottoman nation by dedicating 10 *Temmuz* (Rumi calendar) as its national holiday.
Source: archive.org

Image II.I: Image of the plaque of '*Dersaadet Elektrik Şirketi*' (Dersaadet Electricity Firm).
Photo taken by the author.

Image II.II: Image of the mono and bilingual pages of the 18 March 1909 issue (no.29) of *Kalem* [Pencil]. The monolingual Ottoman page on the left identifies the address of the proprietor to be in Beyoğlu. The city mentioned on the left side of the same page is Istanbul. The bilingual page indicates the proprietor's address to be in Péra, Constantinople
Source: www.tufs.ac.jp

Image III.I: Image of the front page of the Istanbul-based Persian exilic newspaper, *Akhtar* [Star], 17 October 1893.
Source: www.tufs.ac.jp

Image IV.I: The title page of Annie Van Sommer and Samuel M. Zwener (eds.) *Our Moslem Sisters: A Cry from the Lands of Darkness Interpreted by Those Who Heard it*. (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1907).
Source: archive.org.

Image IV.II: "Nationalities Map" featured in Clarence Richard Johnson (ed.) *The Pathfinder Survey of Constantinople: A Study in Oriental Social Life* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922)
Source: archive.org.

Image IV.III: "English police court lawyer becomes an ally of the sultan and is now engaged in teaching the religion of Mohammed: William Henry Quilliam, Sheikh-ul-Islam of the British Isles, spreading the creed of the Moslems, which, he believes, will solve the whole race problem," *The San Francisco Call*, 13 December 1903.
Source: chroniclingamerica.loc.gov

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(Abbreviations for) Archival Sources

BOA: Prime Ministry's Archives in Istanbul, Turkey
TNA: The National Archives, Kew, England
GSM: Galatasaray Müzesi, Istanbul, Turkey

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Aberdeen Press and Journal
Akhtar
Dundee Evening Post
Edinburgh Daily News
Exeter and Plymouth Gazette
Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete
Hayat
Lancashire General Advertiser
London Daily News
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Osmanlı
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